MENNONITE LIFE

October, 1958

Published in the interest
of the best
in the religious, social, and economic phases
of Mennonite culture

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MENNONITE LIFE
North Newton, Kansas

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Germantown Mennonite Church
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MENNONITE LIFE

An Illustrated Quarterly

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Vol. XIII October, 1958 No. 4

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John F. Schmidt, Russell L. Mast, Irvin B. Horst

Mennonite Life is an illustrated Quarterly magazine published in January, April, July, and October by Bethel College, North Newton, Kan. Entered as second-class matter Dec. 20, 1946, at the post office at North Newton, Kan., under Act of March 3. 1879.

Contributors in This Issue

(From left to right)

ROBERT FRIEDMANN, of the Philosophy Department, Western Michigan College, has done extensive research on Hutterites (p. 147).
WARREN KLIEWER'S poems have been published in several magazines. He has studied folklore at Indiana University (pp. 154, 159).
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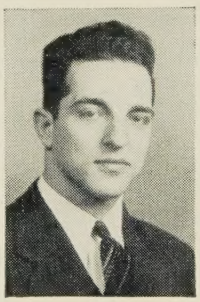
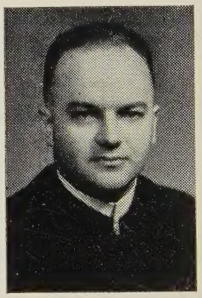
HAROLD S. BENDER is Dean of Goshen Mennonite Biblical Seminary and editor of MENNONITE QUARTERLY REVIEW (174).





ELFRIEDA FRANZ HIEBERT, musician and homemaker, spent a year at Göttingen, Germany, as a Fulbright scholar in music (p. 156.)
J. HERBERT FRETZ, formerly Pennsylvania, is pastor of the Salem Mennonite Church, Freeman, South Dakota (p. 183).
ELAINE SOMMERS RICH, wife of Ronald Rich, Bethel College, writes articles and short stories as a hobby (p. 190).
JOHN F. SCHMIDT, assistant editor of MENNONITE LIFE, edits the monthly Bethel College BULLETIN (p. 153).
JOHN C. WENGER, Professor of Theology, Goshen Biblical Seminary and author of books dealing with Mennonite history (p. 175).

Not Shown

CORNELIUS KRAHN is editor of MENNONITE LIFE and co-editor of the MENNONITE ENCYCLOPEDIA now nearing its completion (169).
GEORGE T. LONG is a member of the Historical Committee of the Zion Mennonite Church, Souderton, Pennsylvania (p. 178).
SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER (1843-1916) was governor of Pennsylvania (1903-07) and president of Pennsylvania Historical Society (1900-16) (p. 181).
MARGARET PITCAIRN STRACHAN writes short stories and articles for various periodicals (p. 186).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Pictures p. 152 from INTERNATIONAL STUDIO, September, 1927. Photos bottom right p. 172, Germantown Historical Society; bottom left p. 173, bottom left p. 176, Menno Schrag; p. 178, 179, and top right p. 180, Penn Studio; top left p. 180 Moser Studio. Cuts bottom right p. 173, 174, and p. 185 Eastern District Historical Committee.

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Annual subscriptions $2.00; Single copies 50 cents; Bound volumes $5.00 (two years in each)
Printed by the Mennonite Press, North Newton, Kansas

Early Anabaptist Art

Hutterian Pottery or Haban Fayences

By ROBERT FRIEDMANN

HOW do Christianity and art go together? Strictly speaking not too well. Christ taught a new way of life not a style of art. Certainly there exists a vast amount of "religious art," simply because artistic urges are indigenous to the human nature; man seeks expression of his devotion and dedication in the medium of art just as much as he does in the area of conduct and worship. But that type of religious orientation which long ago Max Weber had called "ascetic Protestantism" has been and still is radically opposed to any kind of artistic expression whatsoever. Think of a Puritan or an Amish home to understand what is meant here: it is emphatically void of any form of decoration and embellishment, and that, of course, not by chance but by principle.

It goes without saying that evangelical Anabaptism of the sixteenth century, particularly in South Germany, Switzerland and Austria, belonged to this "ascetic" puritanical type. Nothing would be further from normal expectation than that these people, being both solid and sober craftsmen and tillers of soil and vineyard, should indulge in artistic pursuits. And yet, at least in one instance, this is exactly what did happen. The Anabaptists of Moravia, the Hutterites, well-known for their unique way of living in Bruderhof communities, did produce one type of artful crafts which earned the deserved fame and admiration of connoisseurs, and, not the least, brought them also some highly needed material rewards. This was the craft of making beautifully shaped and decorated "enameled" pottery, named after its places of origin, usually Fayences or Majolica. Majolica ware is a particularly decorated and glazed (enameled) earthenware coming from Majorca (an island near Spain) and Valencia in Spain where this art had flourished since the thirteenth century. Later it shifted to the Italian town of Faenca (then belonging to the papal state) whence its present name Fayence. Many museums show most brilliant pieces of this art (for it is more art than craft), and we know very well that nobles everywhere were eager to decorate their tables and cupboards with such showpieces, plates, jars, bowls, jugs, pitchers, and a hundred and one other things. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (the time of the Renaissance) Italy had a sort of monopoly of this art and craft. In the late sixteenth century the Netherlands took over the lead in this field. The seventeenth century then saw the production of lovely Delft wares, with its characteristic blue onions, still appreciated today.

But in between the Italian and the Dutch phase, Moravia suddenly appears on the scene as the only place where these gorgeous house articles were produced, so appealingly that, as we know today from many inventories of castles or manor houses in Moravia or Bohemia, there was hardly any noble family which did not pride itself in possessing some of this newfangled *Täufergeschirr* (Anabaptist pottery). They actually replaced more or less the older pewter wares, particularly for festive occasions (Hruby). We have not the slightest idea how the Hutterites ever came to learn this exquisite art in the sixteenth century. That it is by origin Italian cannot be doubted. Krisztinkovich claims that sectarians of Faenca were driven from the papal state and found their way to tolerant Moravia. We have no records of any such refugees. It is true that in the sixteenth century Moravia was a haven for people of all persuasions. But the only non-Catholic Italian group known were the anti-trinitarian Socinians of the surrounding towns of Venice, Vicenza and Pavia, who later actually settled in Austerlitz, Moravia; in fact in the neighborhood of the Hutterites (De Wind, *MQR,* 1955). But language and beliefs meant serious barriers which prevented any closer contacts. Had we not records of the Italian Inquisition we would not even know of this Austerlitz group. Moreover, the question arises whether they had been potterers. They certainly did not hail from Faenca.

To be sure, a few Italians did also join the Hutterite brotherhood around 1555-60, during the period when the anti-trinitarian Socinians were driven out of Italy; but they all came from the area of Venice, Verona, Vicenza, in general from the area of the Republic of Venice. De Wind has told us their tragic story (*MQR,* 1954) when some of these men returned as Anabaptist missionaries, were caught and subsequently drowned in the lagoon of Venice on the recommendation of the Inquisition. But no record tells us that they had been potters, in fact in a few instances we even know their former or their new trade, learned in Moravia, which in no case was the *Hafner-Kunst* (potter's art). Thus we do not know how it happened that Hutterites learned the secret of this art and craft. We only know that toward the end of the sixteenth century *Täufergeschirr* appears in Moravia as a highly appreciated speciality.

Naturally, in a community in which the entire life is considered a service in the name of the Lord, and therefore subject to the discipline of the church, there exists no distinction between the sacred and the temporal. In

Hutterite family and home during the 16th century.

a sense, all life is part of the sacred, also the production of artful earthenwares. Hence we are not surprised to find at a relatively early date, that is in 1612, the issuance of a regulation of this trade by the *Vorsteher* or bishop of the brotherhood, a so-called *Hafnerordnung* (Hafner means potterer). In an old Hutterite manuscript book, now at Esztergom-Gran, Hungary, we find such a regulation with the title as follows: *Was der Haffner und der köstlich tewern geschüers halben erkennt worden, Anno* 1612 *den* 11 *Demebris* (What has been decided about the potter's trade and the precious expensive earthenwares). In this regulation it is expressly declared that all these pieces of fancy quality have to be sold and must not be used on the Bruderhofs proper. The entire work of the potters is strictly regulated, good care has to be taken of everything, material, colors, kilns, etc. The document mentions in particular pieces in "bonewhite" (*Beinweiss*), something otherwise unknown prior to the coming of Chinaware.

The craft of Fayence pottery had started in Moravia, but soon moved over also into adjoining Slovakia, more secure from persecution than Moravia. Here in Sobotiste and Velky Levary (Sabatisch and Gross-Schützen), the trade was further developed among the newly established Bruderhofs. When in 1622 all Anabaptists were driven from Moravia without exception, the brethren also took along with them the secret of this ceramic production, in particular the secret of producing colors for the glazing (enameling). The Moravian nobility, however, not wanting to be deprived of their lovely tableware, got all these pieces from Slovakia in spite of their otherwise hostile attitude. Hruby reports about coffee, tea and chocolate sets imported in this way and now mentioned in records or preserved in museums. I myself visited Velky Levary in 1925, and could see there the *Hafnerhous* (potterer's workshop), with the firm name high in the gable, that is a sign of the shop made in Fayence technique, reading "J.H.1781" (i.e. Joseph Hörndl, whom the Chronicles call *Krüglmacher*—maker of jugs and jars).

As the brotherhood moved still further on into far-away Transylvania (1621), then a principality under Turkish suzerainty, the art of Fayence ceramics moved with them, too. The princes of Rakocsi are said to have been particular patrons of these masters of ceramics. Toward the end of the seventeenth century the one or the other of them broke away from the brotherhood; the *Chronicle* of the Hutterites speaks of that period as the time of the *Verfliessen* (waning) of the brotherhood or church. It is reported that one of these now independent masters became a special favorite of Count Palffy, another of the Hungarian magnates, and in 1693, a member of a well-known Anabaptist potter family by the name of Imre Odler (apparently formerly Adler), who had adopted a Magyar name, was even knight—certainly a strange twist of fate for someone formerly belonging to an Anabaptist group of strictest discipline and separation from the "world."

The eighteenth century is a sad period in the story of the Hutterites: fewer and fewer were the members who remained loyal to the old teachings and ways of life. The harsh and relentless activities of the Jesuits, under the regime of Empress Maria Theresia, meant nearly the total collapse of the brotherhood. The staunch and strongest ones joined the great trek into the Ukraine around 1770-90, while all those who remained behind

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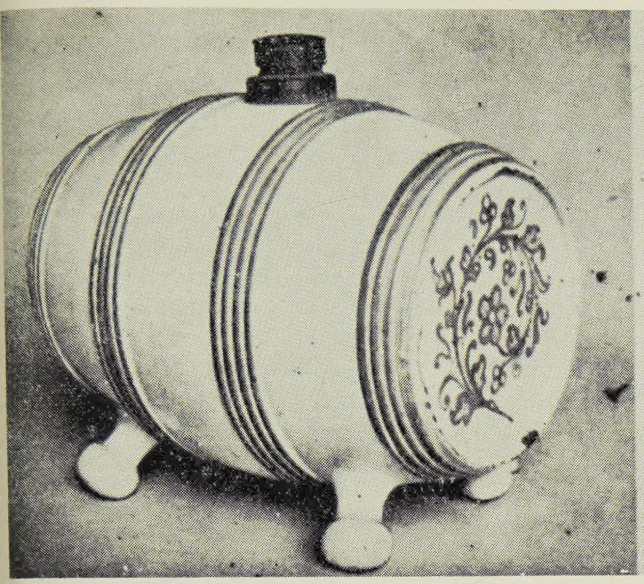
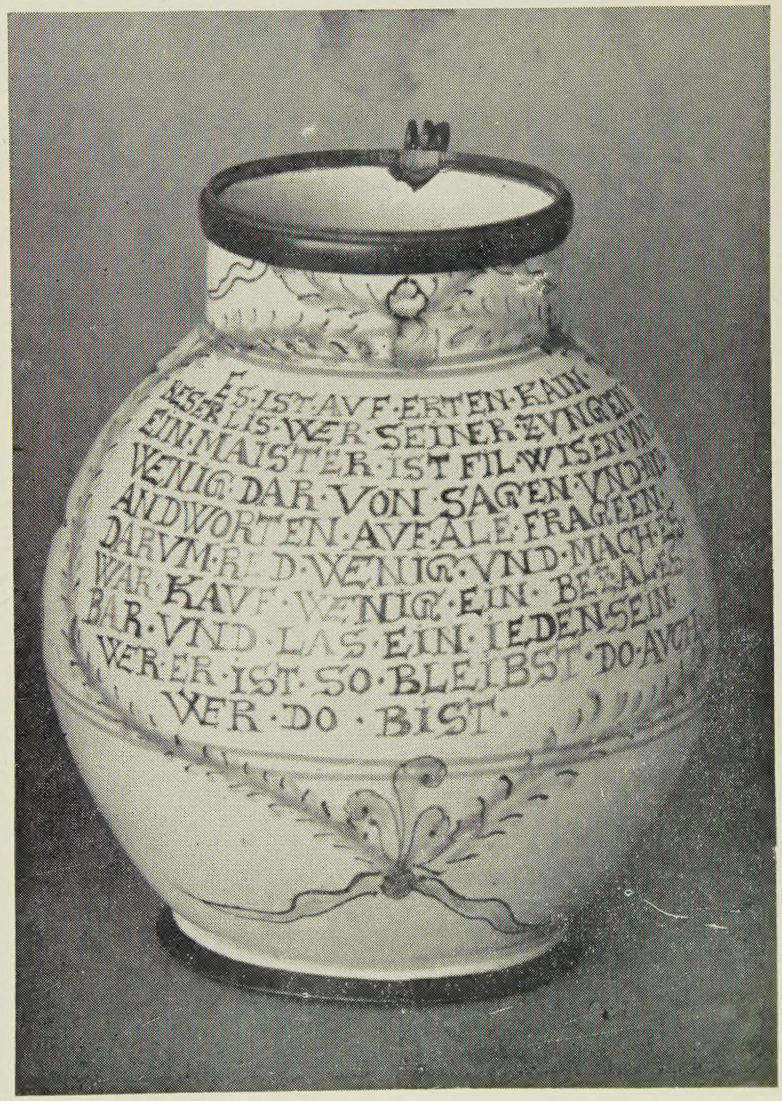
Hutterite potter during the 17th century.

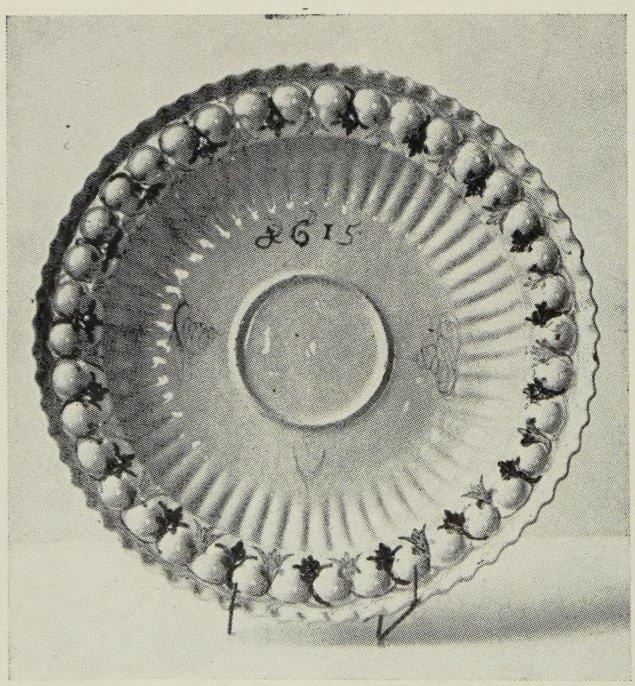


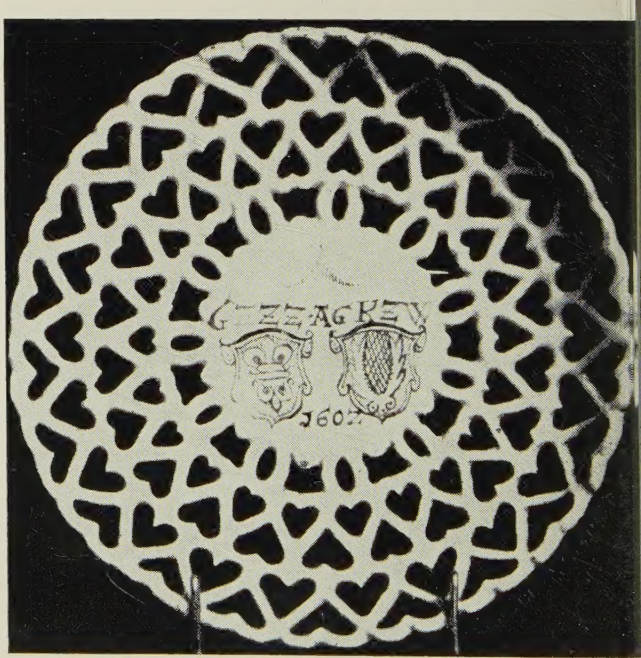
Honey-barrel made in 1608 and "Aquamanile" (1648). (Below) Jug dated 1599 and pitcher with inscription and art work. The two items on top are from Bela Krisztinkovich, BEITRÄGE ZUR FRAGE DER HABANER KERAMIK (Table VIII) and below from Pocatky, HABANSKYCH FAJANSI.

Museum Pieces of Hutterian-Habaner Art



Seventeenth century Hutterian ceramics in Vienna Museum (courtesy, Arnold Regier). (Below) Hutterian bowl dated 1615 and Hutterian plate dated 1602. The plate has initials and coat of arms of Moravian nobleman for whom it was made (from Pocatky, HABANSKYCH FAJANSI).





Hutterian pot dated 1617 (From Pocatky HABANSKYCH FAJANSI). (Right) Ceramic jar from Vienna Museum (courtesy, Arnold Regier).

could no longer resist the concerted aggression of the Jesuits. They turned Catholic, at least externally. Wisely, the Catholic Church did not forbid communal institutions, and thus the Bruderhofs continued to function, after a fashion. Communal schools, bakeries, smithies, pastures, and so forth, existed everywhere, also a communal treasury. Many of the former Anabaptists who had turned Catholic, had also shifted to the language of their country, that is to Slovakian, and to a lesser degree Rumanian. Thus they were not molested when the German population was expelled after World War II and most likely are still living on Bruderhofs. These Catholic converts now are popularly called *Habaner* (or Slovakian *Habanski*), no one knows why. Joseph Beck (1883) conjected that "hab" means in folk dialect dour, sullen, supposedly the external appearance of many of the Anabaptist "puritans" of later time. Be it as it may, all over Hungary (and Slovakia used to belong to Hungary up to 1918), one knows no Anabaptists, no Hutterites, but only Habanski. That is the name accepted by Catholic writers as well as by the people at home. In the more recent science of folklore, their lovely ceramic products are called exclusively *Haban ceramics*.

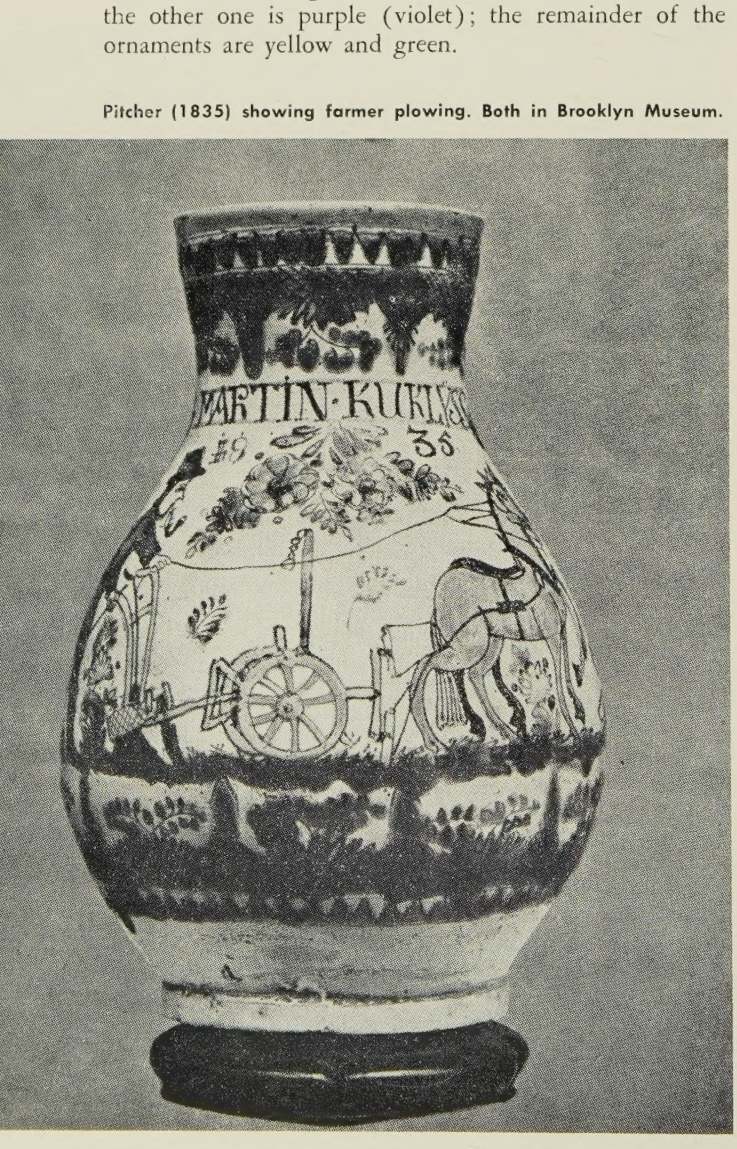
The secret of production was not completely lost, however, with the turn of the brethren to Catholicism, and the art continued to flourish until far into the middle of the nineteenth century (1840 or later). Then, to be sure, competition with the still more delicate bone china from Meissen or Vienna was too strong; the nobles did not buy these earthenwares any longer and the craft declined and eventually stopped altogether.

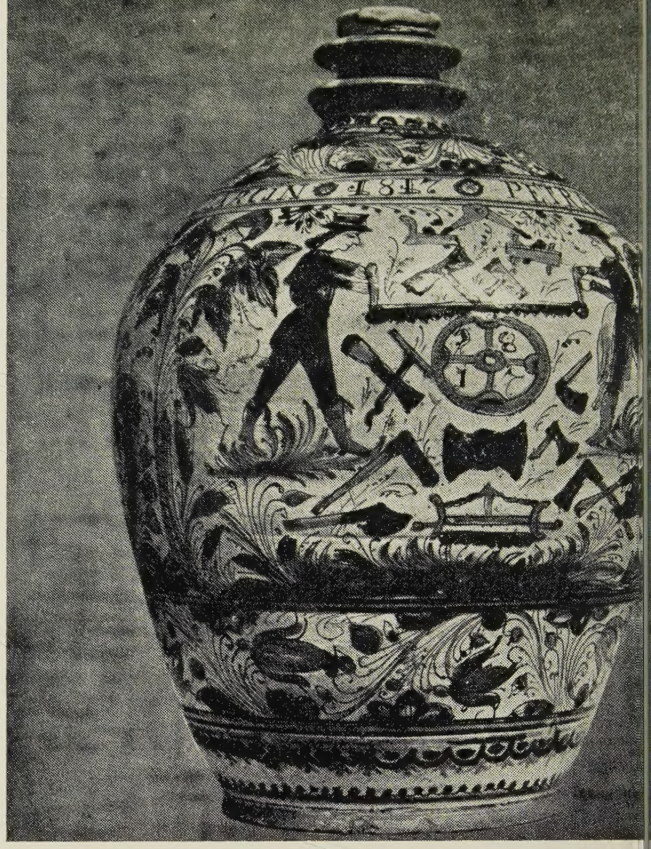
A Hungarian collector and connoisseur in the art of Haban ceramics stimulatingly analyzed these products from the angle of artistic style. He found a three-step development, or shift. Of the oldest pieces, about 1590 to 1680, the style might be called Italian Renaissance (pointing back to the land of origin); prevailing is the tulip motif, not unlike the tulip of Pennsylvania-Dutch folk art; the colors are predominantly red, brown, and reddish brown, on clear white ground. Then, in the late 1600's, a change took place: from the Netherlands

the new color of blue was introduced, and the pattern of the workshops of Delft, the famous onion, became preferred. Finally, in the 19th century, when the masters became increasingly assimilated to the civilization of the Hungarians (Magyars), the patterns of Haban ceramics also became magyarized, that is "folksy," indigenous. I myself find these latest pieces, though still artful, less attractive than the earlier work. Although the designs or decorations are less sophisticated and slightly rough (peasant style), the shape and appearance of these latest specimens are still worthy of any museum piece.

Is there any way of ever seeing such work, except by traveling to Budapest or Prague? Fortunately the answer is: yes. By a strange coincidence, one of the curators of the excellent Brooklyn Museum (Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, New York) happaned to travel through Hungary in the early 1920's. From this trip he brought with him a large collection of Haban pottery now on exhibit in this museum. It has to be said, however, that practically all the pieces of this collection belong to the craft of the nineteenth century. There are no pieces representing the very height of this art but rather its decline into a peasant craft. Still, there is an impressive wine jug of 1817, made for the carpenters' guild, and a lovely pitcher of 1835, showing a farmer plowing. This pitcher is particularly remarkable due to its bold, almost modernistic coloring: one of the two horses is blue while the other one is purple (violet); the remainder of the ornaments are yellow and green.

Pitcher (1835) showing farmer plowing. Both in Brooklyn Museum.





Large wine jug showing emblems of carpenter's guilds (1817).

Museums in Budapest, Vienna, Prague, Berlin, Brno and Bratislava are rich in such collections, many coming from former castles or manor houses. When in 1937 Hutterite brethren from America revisited their former homesteads in Slovakia and Transylvania, they were also shown old workshops of potterers, still preserved, and results of excavations where potsherds were found. People in village and countryside still showed them pitchers and jars of their ancestors. But nothing was for sale. The folklorist, however, finds in these wares an unlimited field of research and study. Czech, Slovakian and Hungarian scholars are, of course, foremost in this pursuit, unfortunately for all those who do not understand these languages. The Central European connoisseur everywhere appreciates these old and at one time rather expensive works, the true forerunners of later "China" ware.

These works of dedicated craftsmanship are an unusual and unexpected legacy of Anabaptism. The creators of this legacy were people who had dedicated their lives to their Lord both in worship and in work and service.

Bibliography: Naturally, the literature about these people is rather remote and scarce. The articles in *Mennonite Encyclopedia* on "Crafts" and "Habaner" give a first orientation together with some literature. Karl Cernohorsky (Troppava) has written extensively about this subject. His book, *Die Anfänge der Habaner Fayence Produktion* (in Czech. 1931) has 35 half-tone illustrations of masterpieces 1598-1634, with an appendix in German language (copy in Goshen College); of course, J. Loserth, *Der Communismus der mährischen Wiedertäufer* (Wien

(Continued on page 182)

The Artist Interprets Life

By JOHN F. SCHMIDT

THE interpretative role of the artist is emphasized by Mary Lou Goertzen as the basis of the work of the artist and appreciative values of the non-artist. Mrs. Goertzen's art is found in the halls of Bethel College, her alma mater, and in the homes of relatives and friends. She is one of a growing number who speak from an experience of creating art, as well as from the appreciative experience of a homemaker and community builder.

"A painter selects ideas from nature and the thought world" says Mrs. Goertzen, "and puts them down with paint and brush in his own style. Great painting is not necessarily a painstaking copy of nature. (Many people think the more "real" a painting looks, the greater art it is.) Between the brush and the world of nature is the artist. The artist's ideas and personality must enter in or else the painting is nothing more than art technique with no creativity."

Mary Lou is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Willis Rich of North Newton, Kansas. Since 1951 she has been married to Ernest Goertzen, reference librarian at Kansas State College, Manhattan. Her creative interest in art began with her formal education, first in the Horace Mann School of New York City, then in the Newton City Schools. On the college level she has studied with Lena Waltner, Bethel College; J. P. Klassen, Bluffton College; and Robert Kiskadden of Wichita University.

In high school she entered regional art contests for several years, winning recognition in watercolor, painting, and sculpture. Several of her entries became part of a traveling exhibit of outstanding high school art.

Mary Lou's most ambitious project so far has been the forty-foot long mural in the lobby of the Henderson Community School, Henderson, Nebraska, painted when she was teaching there in 1955.

Whatever our vocation or primary interest in life, Mary Lou Goertzen has a message for all of us when she says: "An interest in painting increases one's awareness of the beauty everywhere. Just as studying music enables one to appreciate and understand music to a greater extent, so trying to paint helps one appreciate the ability of the true artist and understand what he is trying to say.

"Interest in the arts through drawing and painting is an excellent hobby for a homemaker. Although painting pictures becomes difficult in the years when there are small children in the home, art interest can be put to use in various ways such as preparing colorful and attractive meals, arranging flower or weed bouquets, adding extra touches around the house in home decoration such as block printing curtains, painting nursery murals, etc. A homemaker can also help her children appreciate the world about them as she has learned to do through art."

(Continued on pages 154 and 155)

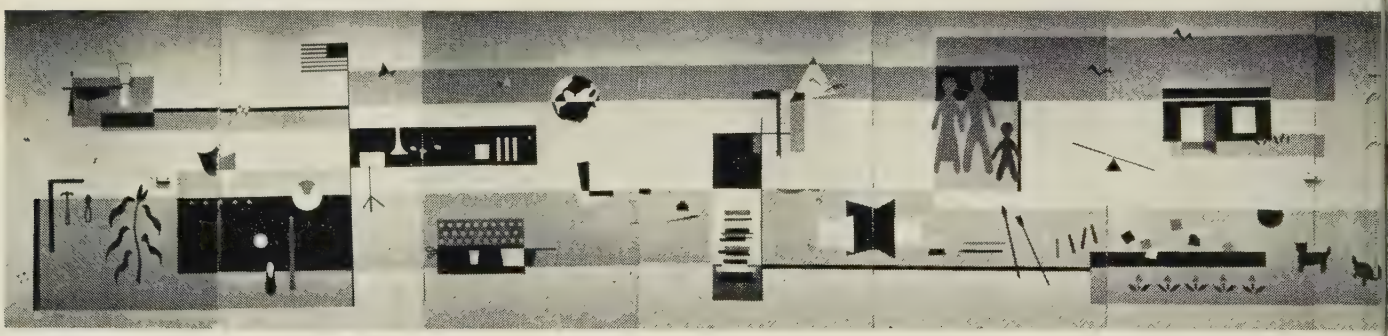
Two watercolors, "House in the Country" now in Bethel College Dining Hall and "Approaching Storm" in the Bethel College Library.

Mary Lou Goertzen at work on the mural at Henderson, and at right, interpreting the mural to a group of children (see below).

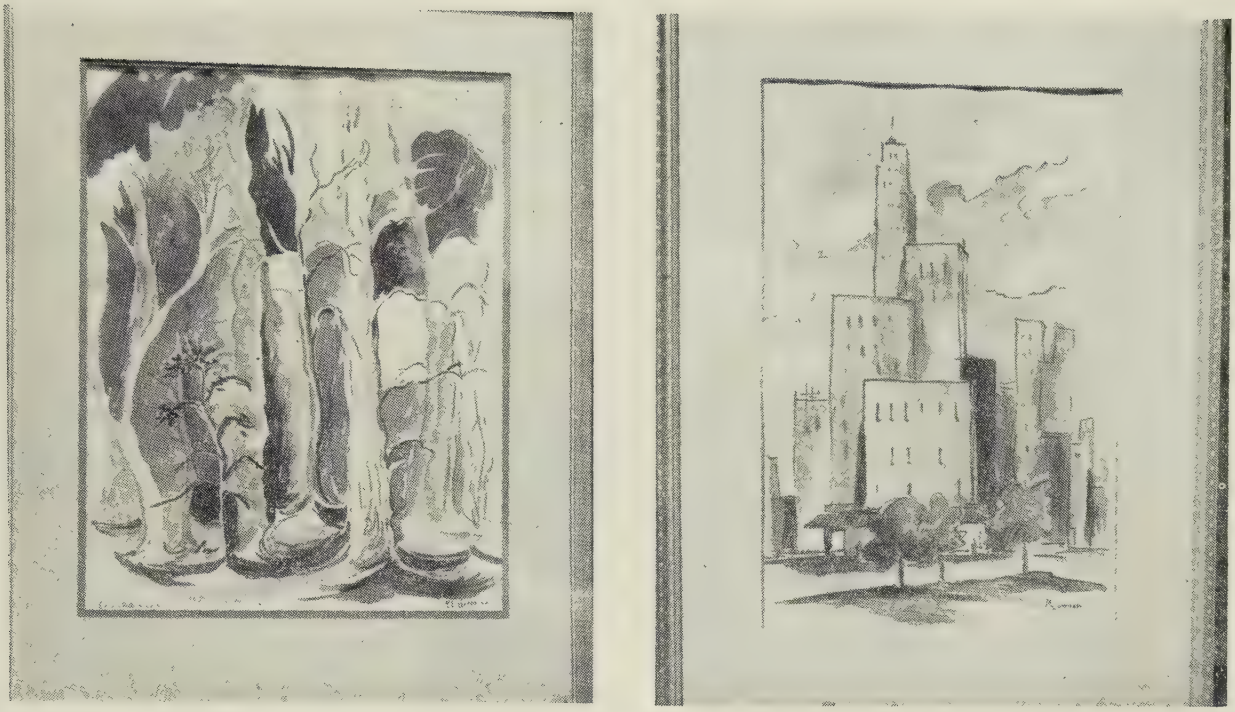
The forty-foot long mural pictured below was painted by Mary Lou Goertzen in the spring of 1955 on a wall of the lobby in the Henderson Community School, Henderson, Nebraska. The Goertzens were teaching in the school there at the time.

"The Community Educates Its Children" is the title of the mural. Education is a process of growth and development beginning with birth and ending only with death. Three institutions are of primary importance in stimulating the educative process—the home, the church, and the school. The mural pictures these institutions through the use of symbols. Symbolizing the school is the United States flag. In the exact center of the mural are the church symbols—the cross, the Bible, the triangle representing the Trinity, the Dove of Peace, and the fish which was an early Christian symbol. The home is symbolized to the far right by the square structure with the open door of welcome. The center of interest in the mural is the group of figures of the mother, father, and child which represent the family. The many smaller details on the mural are mostly tools of learning connected with a child's school experiences. Between the family and the church symbols the "three R's" are pictured and in the far upper left corner is the graduation cap and diploma.

The mural is painted in a flat, geometric style to fit the long archetectural lines of the building. The colors are bright and warm to give the feeling of vitality and activity, two things which are present in any school.



The watercolors showing a farm scene near Bluffton, Ohio, and a giant Kansas willow.



Two imaginative watercolors by Mary Lou Goertzen, showing "Enchanted Forest" and "City Skyline."

Two Poems

By WARREN KLIEWER

A CROSSROADS CHURCH

The road I follow crosses another,
And there is light enough to see
The gray church standing on the corner
And near the door a white ash tree.

The weathered clapboards hold the hue
And touch of leaves, brittle and sear;
This summer grass seems close to snow.
Is it always autumn here?

No longer do they ring the bell
For sermon time each Sunday morning,
The toll of birth, the funeral wail,
For the clang of young love's wedding.

No bells, not even birds sing here:
Only the wind in the bare tree,
As though trees could not leaf so near
That silenced, aging piety.

WHAT CAN A BOY DO?

What can a boy do when it rains
And someone makes him stay indoors,
And he has tired of trucks and trains,
And he has dusted all the floors

With crawling on his knees from room
To room and run down all the stairs
And ridden the galloping broom
And drawn four pictures of brown bears,

And he has smudged the window glass
And wondered if the rain would stop
Before the gray clouds drown the grass
Or he catches cold and dies, or grows up?

Johannes Brahms and His Mennonite Friends

By ELFRIEDA FRANZ HIEBERT

Johannes Brahms at piano. The well-known crayon portrait made by Willy von Beckerath.

FOR two centuries the city of Crefeld, in Rhineland, Germany, has been a flourishing center for commerce, industry and culture. The Mennonites who settled there since 1609 eventually established themselves so securely that for a time, around 1650, they numbered half of the total population. Later, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries much of the industry and wealth of Crefeld was concentrated in the hands of Mennonite businessmen. Apart from outstanding contributions to the economic prosperity of the city, the Mennonites also took a leading role in the cultural activities of the city.

Among prominent Mennonites of Crefeld we shall single out for this account the families of von Beckerath and von der Leyen. During the nineteenth century the von Beckeraths were influential in government affairs. Several members of the family became well known both as artists and collectors of art works of the Italian Renaissance; a number of them were expert amateur musicians. The von der Leyen family also counted among its members musicians, artists and scholars. From 1740 till 1850 they were leaders in the weaving and silk industry. To this day, even after the second World War, Mennonite families are playing a significant role in the welfare and religious life of Crefeld, although to a decidedly lesser extent than in the flourishing 19th century.

Crefeld has long enjoyed a rich musical tradition and the Mennonites have had a unique place in its development. They have been members and organizers of choral societies, of community instrumental ensembles, and of chamber music groups in private homes. Among the Mennonites who were most active in the last decades of the nineteenth century we should single out Rudolf von der Leyen, and his brother-in-law, Alwin von Beckerath. The former was an excellent pianist who was thoroughly acquainted with all the piano literature and chamber music of Johannes Brahms. His sister's husband, Alwin von Beckerath, was a fine violist. He played either second violin or viola in the resident string quartet led by Professor Richard Barth, a former pupil of Joseph Joachim.

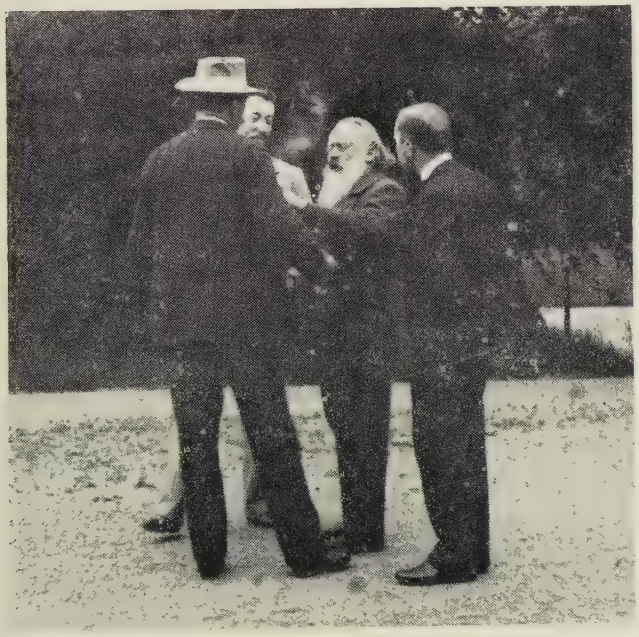
Rudolf von Beckerath, the uncle of Rudolf von der Leyen, was a patron as well as a participator in music-making in the Rhineland. His home in Rüdesheim, not far from Wiesbaden, was a favorite meeting place for many outstanding musicians including Johannes Brahms, Joseph Joachim, Amalie Joachim, Clara Schumann, Julius Stockhausen, and Max Bruch. Rudolf von Beckerath personally owned a Stradivarius violin and is said to have played it beautifully. In January of 1880 he arranged to have his friend, Johannes Brahms, conduct a Brahms concert with the Crefeld Concert Society (*Krefelder Konzertgesellschaft*). Brahms' introduction to the music lovers of Crefeld resulted in a number of life-long friendships, nurtured by the frequent exchange of letters. During this first concert engagement and on each succeeding visit to Crefeld, Brahms was a welcome guest at the Rudolf von der Leyen home. The experiences of Brahms and von der Leyen during their years of friendship were published by von der Leyen in his *Johannes Brahms als Mensch und Freund* (Düsseldorf, 1905).

On the occasion of that first concert in Crefeld, Rudolf von Beckerath came from Rüdesheim bringing his violin with him. The following evening Brahms and he played the newly published G major Sonata, Op. 78. As always, Brahms was generous with his music and showed a great deal of kindness to everyone. On such occasions he frequently added humorous touches to the musical gatherings and it was not below his dignity to wear house slippers when his own boots were soaked from a long tramp through the woods. He was a very modest man who purchased new clothing sparingly and wore his old ones as long as possible. In the seventeen years of their friendship, Rudolf von der Leyen does not remember having seen Brahms wear but one and the same old brown coat.

Brahms and his Crefeld Mennonite friends on a walk, taken in spring, 1896.

During his second visit to Crefeld in January of 1881 Brahms again conducted a concert of his own music featuring the violinist Richard Barth. Through these visits the Crefeld Concert Society gained new strength in its orchestra membership. Included in the intimate circle of Crefeld musicians who entertained Brahms on these visits were the Mennonites Alwin von Beckerath, Rudolf von der Leyen, Alfred Molenaar (a descendant of the early 19th century Crefeld minister Molenaar) and their wives. Other musicians from the community were August Grüters, Richard Barth, and the friends of

Brahms speaks to Alvin von Beckerath. Dr. Gustav Ophüls (rear) and Bram Eldering (right). Brahms speaks to Dr. Ophüls with Eldering and von Beckerath watching. Photographs on this page courtesy Heinz von Beckerath.



music, Ernst Zillessen, Moritz Seyffardt, Gustav Ophüls and their wives. These serious interpreters and genuine friends of Brahms enticed him repeatedly to return to Crefeld to refresh their friendship and to play his music with him. During the course of years they performed all of Brahms' chamber music, with the master himself at the piano. Together they studied his works and penetrated with him into the minutest details of musical performance. The gatherings usually took place at the homes of Alwin von Beckerath or of Rudolf von der Leyen, in which households Brahms truly became a very welcome member. The actual contact with the master musician and composer so inspired this intimate circle that on the first evening of music-making at Rudolf von der Leyen's home Brahms stopped after the first movement of his A Major Piano Quartet and exclaimed, *Donnerwetter, hier muss man sich ja zusammennehmen und schön spielen.* He remarked to Rudolf von der Leyen that such friendly, refreshing and fulfilling music-making was a rare experience for him during his many concert tours.

At a concert in 1883 with the Crefeld Concert Society Brahms performed "*Der Gesang der Parzen,*" Op. 89 for six part chorus and orchestra. It was a memorable performance which touched Brahms deeply. The chorus, which included numerous Mennonites, received a stormy applause and had to repeat the performance. In grateful remembrance of this sensitive interpretation Brahms sent the Crefeld Concert Society the manuscript of the above work.

During the month of May of the same year the von der Leyen family vacationed at Grandmother Beckerath's villa in Bad Godesberg. Johannes Brahms joined them for a number of days. He was an early riser and was ready for breakfast by seven. His recipe for good living was to close his eyes to the clock at night and arise at six in the morning regardless of the time of retirement. He was always ready for long walks and for discussions on literature and politics. He loved children and played with them. It is said that after dining at a hotel or restaurant he seldom left without filling his pockets with sufficient sweets to conjure up a look of pleasure on the face of some poor little child later on. Wherever he stayed little boys and girls soon learned to love him, and they followed him about.

During the spring of 1884 Brahms and von der Leyen journeyed and vacationed together in upper Italy. The two met in Trent where von der Leyen was staying with friends; from there they proceeded to Riva, Milan, and Turin. In Genoa they visited von der Leyen's sister and brother-in-law, the Weyermann's, who lived there. On the return trip they travelled back to Milan and to Cadenabbia where they were invited as guests of the Herzog von Meiningen at the Villa Carlotta. While there they played much of Brahms' music in four hand arrangements at the piano. Then they journeyed together back to the Rhineland at the end of May—Brahms to Düsseldorf and von der Leyen to Crefeld.

To show his appreciation to the Alwin von Beckeraths for the warm hospitality they had offered him on many occasions Brahms presented to them in 1885 the manuscript of a six-part mixed chorus with piano accompaniment, *Tafellied,* Op. 93b, warmly inscribed *Alwin und Mariechen u. einigen Andern freundlichst gewidmet. Johannes Brahms.* In 1885 he also sent Rudolf von der Leyen the manuscript of the wonderful and deeply sad song, *Der Tod, das ist die kühle Nacht,* Op. 96, Nr. 1.

In 1887 von der Leyen and Brahms hoped to meet in Italy again, but unfortunately they missed each other in Milan. Brahms visited this intimate circle of friends in Crefeld again in 1890 and in 1891. Their friendship continued until 1897, the year of his death.

The last gathering of the Crefeld friends with Brahms occurred after the death of Clara Schumann (d. May 20, 1896). Her husband, Robert Schumann, also a very dear friend of Brahms, had preceded her in 1856. Brahms and Rudolf von der Leyen had been present at her burial in Bonn. Von der Leyen has described the scene at the cemetery when he and Brahms together went to the graveside; how he tried to console Brahms in the great loss of such a close friend and musician. Since Brahms was exhausted after a very strenuous forty-hour journey without rest from Ischl he accepted the invitation to join his beloved group of friends at the Weyermann home at Hager Hof near Bad Honnef, which is only a short distance along the Rhine from Bonn. Weyermann's wife was Rudolf von der Leyen's sister. The Alwin von Beckeraths and the von der Leyens were visiting there at this time. To this group also came Laura von Beckerath, the widow of Rudolf von Beckerath (d. 1887), her son, Willy von Beckerath, Richard Barth (violin), Leonhard Wolff (viola) with their wives, and others. Brahms stayed with them almost a week and during this time the group dedicated the performance of much noble and beautiful music to the memory of Clara Schumann. He took this occasion to play and sing from manuscript his newly composed *Vier ernste Gesänge,* Op. 121. These he composed probably because he felt the beginning of an illness which led to his death. It was before the death of Clara Schumann, and not in her memory as is so often surmised. When Brahms said farewell to his friends he expressed the feeling that these days would be counted as some of the most beautiful of his life.

Brahms' health had been failing and with the emotional and physical strain which resulted from the death of Clara Schumann, the situation grew worse. By early 1897 he was very ill and on April 3 his life came to an end.

Brahms seems also to have shown considerable interest in the Mennonite philosophy of life. He was a North German Protestant belonging to the Lutheran church and had been brought up to revere and study the Bible and the way of life taught therein. Brahms was drawn to the Mennonite friends through a common desire to live in a simple, deeply tender way, seeking the fullest free-

dom of spirit in achieving straightforwardness of character. His thorough knowledge of the Bible can be seen from the texts he employed so effectively in the *Deutsches Requiem, Vier Ernste Gesänge,* in the motets and other sacred works.

Brahms is reported to have stated that when Robert Schumann was ill, dying in a mental hospital in Endenich near Bonn, he called for the Bible. His doctors took this request to be another symptom of his illness (and did not grant him the wish). Brahms said, "What the doctors didn't realize was that we North Germans find our Bible in the dark."

On his concert tours Brahms frequently carried with him the works of Ludwig Keller. He was fond of his book on Hans Denk, which he kept handy for travel reading. He was also interested in Keller's studies of the Waldenses and asked Rudolf von der Leyen to help him obtain everything Keller wrote on this subject.

A Mennonite artist, Willy von Beckerath (1868-1938), has given the world several of the best artistic portrayals of Brahms. He was the son of Rudolf and Laura von Beckerath, Rüdesheim, and was professor of art at the Polytechnic School of Hamburg. Perhaps most widely known are his two drawings of *Brahms am Klavier* and *Brahms als Dirigent.* Copies of *Brahms am Klavier* can be found in book shops, music studios and homes all over the United States. Here we see the mature Brahms seated before the piano; this portrait is warm with life and quality. These are both crayola drawings and were presumably made in February 17-19, 1895, when Brahms stayed at the home of Laura von Beckerath. Another drawing of Brahms by Willy von Beckerath hangs in the Kunsthalle of Hamburg. It is a full figure portrait.

Extant photographs showing Brahms with the Crefeld Mennonite friends are in the possession of Heinz von Beckerath, a son of Alwin von Beckerath. He still lives in Crefeld and recalls Brahms' visits to his parents' home. I acknowledge with gratitude a communication from Heinz von Beckerath in which he gave me some of the above information. Of his own musical activities, he relates that the quartet sessions in which he played cello, were held at their home every Sunday regularly until the second World War. His eldest son, a very musical person, was killed in Russia during the early forties and since then Heinz von Beckerath's cello has been resting. He is presently writing the story of Brahms' visit to Crefeld and to the von Beckerath home in particular. We await with great interest these reminiscences.

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The Return Home

By WARREN KLIEWER

I lived in this house thirteen years ago
Before they built the fanning mill in the slough
Where small girls picked ripe cattails and wild thyme
And boys snared gophers, but the boys now go
A half mile farther where there are trees to climb;
They walk, as we did, from the grocery store
Down to the lake, and listen to the roar

Of waves, and watch the whitecaps on windy days.
But I no longer recognize these boys,
Their names, their faces; they do not know me,
Are not surprised, as I am, at the ways
Of men and boys who change. Indifferently
They pass the empty park bench. How could they know
The man who sat there thirteen years ago?

His moustache stained with tobacco was as brown
As his coat; his face was twisted to a frown;
These hands—his voice would quaver and he would
sigh—
Had killed a buffalo, had saved the town
From fire, had held the peace pipe with Sleepy Eye,
Chief of all the Ojibways and the Sioux.
I think that he believed these stories too.

But now the dreamer has become a dream;
The legend is the man. We only seem,
We who are living, the impermanent,
Small boys who fish for bluegills in a stream
While waiting to grow up, and this pregnant
Pale young woman whom I see, the involved.
The fictions and the frown have been resolved.

(Continued on page 186)

A bus of Old Colony Mennonites ready to leave Cuauhtemoc, Mexico, April, 1958, for British Honduras. (Next page, top) Old Colony Mennonite children playing in school yard in Mexico. (Bottom) Old Colony Mennonite village in Mexico. ➔

Old Colony Mennonites Are Moving Again

From Mexico to British Honduras

By LEO DRIEDGER

IT WAS in the years 1921-24 when the Old Colony, Sommerfeld and Kleine Gemeinde Mennonites of Canada, left Manitoba and Saskatchewan for settlement in the states of Chihuahua and Durango, Mexico. Some thirty-five years later in 1958 we are witnessing another move of these same Mennonites from Mexico to the British and Spanish Honduras in Central America.

Move From Mexico

The Old Colony people had settled in two main areas in Mexico, one in the Cuauhtemoc area in the state of Chihuahua just south of Texas, and the other around the city of Durango in the state of Durango, south of Chihuahua. Some of the Sommerfeld group also settled in the Cuauhtemoc area while the Kleine Gemeinde people settled near Santa Clara slightly farther north in the same state.

In Mexico almost all of the Mennonites live in villages numbering in the hundreds, named after the villages that were established in Prussia, then carried to Russia, Canada and finally to Mexico. Many of their houses and buildings are made of adobe brick, although many now have frame houses. All three of these Mennonite groups have churches and German schools established in their villages. They have many ministers who are regular farmers, and each group has a leading elder (bishop). Ohm Isaak Dyck is the elder of the Cuauhtemoc Old Colony Mennonites which is the largest group of Mennonites in Mexico.

From the very beginning and through the years the Mennonites never were very enthusiastic about their new land. In comparison to Canada the soil is poor, there is insufficient moisture, and the crop yields are considerably lower. Many of the older people have reconciled themselves to this land, but the younger men and women always looked for another place, so that today there is a new movement to the south—the British and Spanish Honduras.

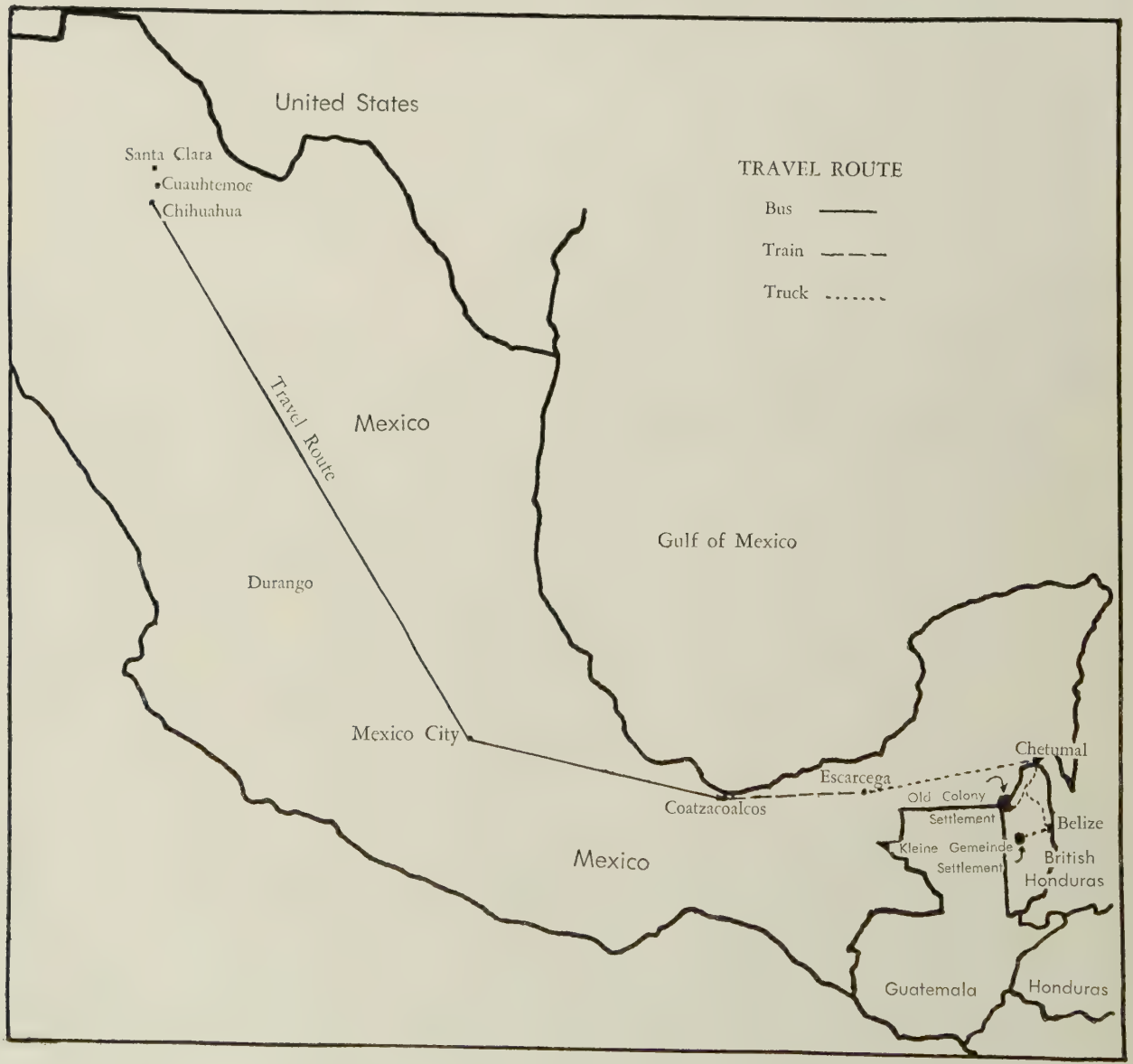
Some families of the Old Colony Mennonites in Durango are moving to the Spanish Honduras, but since these are few in number, we will not concern ourselves

with these in this writing. The Old Colony Mennonites of Cuauhtemoc are moving in large numbers to a tract of land they have bought in the northwest corner of the British Honduras bordering on Mexico and Guatemala. Over half of the members of the Kleine Gemeinde from Santa Clara are moving to a smaller tract of land on the Belize River in the heart of the British Honduras.

Those moving from the state of Chihuahua travel by bus from Chihuahua to Mexico City to Coatzacoalcos which is a coastal city in the state of Vera Cruz. From here they travel by train to Escarcega, Campeche, and from there take a truck to Chetumal, in the state of Quintana Roo, thence the Old Colony people travel by truck and river boat to their land in the northwest corner of the British Honduras. This route is not passable in the rainy season, since the road from Escarcega to Chetumal is only bush trail. Heavy freight can be shipped from Coatzacoalcos to Belize by boat. The Kleine Gemeinde people take the same route, but from Chetumal take a government road from Chetumal through Orange Walk, Belize and then west by truck on fair road to their tract of land.

For hundreds of years the Honduras were populated by the ancient Maya Indians. During the sixteenth century when the Spaniards claimed most of Central America, they seem not to have occupied this territory perhaps because of the many coral reefs which make sailing hazardous. It is known that numerous pirates had their hideouts here. In 1638 a group of British mariners landed in what now is British Honduras and started a

Map of Mexico showing the travel route of the Old Colony Mennonites from the settlement near Cuauhtemoc via Mexico City to their new settlement in British Honduras. (Next page, top) Boys on their way to school in one of the villages of the Old Colony Mennonite settlements in Mexico. (Bottom) Old Colony Mennonite girls in their typical dresses. →



Delegates on tractor and wagon inspect land in British Honduras prior to the purchase of land for new settlement.

logwood industry. Despite treaties where Spain recognized this as British territory, there were continual raids by Spaniards. From 1791-1871 various degrees of British government existed. In 1871 British Honduras became a Crown Colony which it is today.

The total area of this land is only 8,866 square miles, being about sixty-eight miles wide and one hundred seventy-four miles long. Most of the land is low, with the Mennonite land being from two hundred to six hundred feet above sea level. The climate is subtropical with temperatures ranging from fifty to ninety-five degrees with considerable humidity. Rainfall is quite plentiful with about fifty inches per year in the areas where the Mennonites are settling. Most of the soil is a soft limestone formation with top soil ranging from six inches to three feet. It is fairly white and makes a good road surface. The land is rather uneven with ridges running through it. The dry season is from February to the end of May.

The population of this country is somewhere around eighty thousand, with about twenty-eight thousand of these living in Belize, the capital. Seventeen per cent are Maya Indian, about seven per cent a mixture of Negro and Amerindian Carib blood, about four per cent white, and the remainder Negro. Negroes are predominant and hold most school teaching, commercial, clerical, civil service and sales staff positions.

One United States dollar is worth one dollar and forty cents in British Honduras money. They have the dollar currency instead of the British.

Some of the crops grown which might be known to Mennonites are maize and bean crops. Other crops are rice, citrus fruits, coconuts, bananas, ramie, sugar cane, cacao, and pineapple. Thus the new settlers will have to make a complete change in crop growing, abandoning the culture of oats, wheat and some other feed crops. Since such a large portion of the land is wooded, this too is a great contrast to the wide open expanses of Mexico where they lived formerly. About forty-six per cent of the land is considered suitable for forestry. There is some ranching and poultry raising, but this is minimal.

The entire coastline of British Honduras is suitable for

Temporary jungle shelter of first settlers in British Honduras, and nut tree growing in garden.

Beginning of settlement on base camp from where clearing of land is done.

River travel on the Blue Creek—the only way to travel in rainy season.

fishing. A large percentage of the population is employed in this trade. There is very little mining and manufacturing. The two main factories are sugar and citrus processing companies. There are a few other industries, but most manufactured goods, flour, steel, etc. must be imported. Thus this country, at first entirely, and even today largely, is dependent upon the exploitation of its forest wealth.

Belize is the main port, but the vessels have to stay about a mile from the city. There are a number of steamship companies that give fairly regular services. In 1955 there were about 443 miles of main and feeder roads capable of carrying motor traffic throughout the year, and two hundred and seventy-nine miles of cart road and bush trails maintained by the government. In addition to this there are numerous other dirt roads impassible during about half the year. The Belize River was one of the main traffic arteries to the interior some years ago, but with the building of a road following the river, it has absorbed most of the river boating. Several other rivers can be used for travel including Blue Creek River which runs near the Old Colony land. The government owns and operates an airport near Belize. There are about thirty-five post offices in the country and some telephone lines have operated for about twenty years.

Banana trees growing near fence.

Kleine Gemeinde

The Kleine Gemeinde already had thirty-one families in British Honduras May, 1958. The land which they have bought lies on the Belize River, about forty miles west of Belize. There is a good road from Belize to within a mile of land. They have to cross the Belize River by barges but no doubt later on they will build a bridge across the river.

Seventeen thousand acres were purchased, along with a sawmill so that they were able to begin producing lumber immediately. Since most of the land is covered with brush and trees, they have to clear the land first, before they can grow crops. Thus there is a twin operation of clearing the land, and at the same time producing

Mother and children on a seeming endless journey.

lumber for their buildings, and for market income. Most of the mahogany wood has already been lumbered from their land, but there are always trees here and there that have been left. Raymond Wagler of McPherson, Kansas, accompanied a group of Sommerfeld people to the British Honduras, saw the Kleine Gemeinde land and took some soil home with him. It tested about twice as high in nutrients as Kansas soil around McPherson, with phosphorous being about the same as in Kansas.

Besides the advantages of a good road to their land, there is also a government experimental farm about ten miles away. It is not known whether the Kleine Gemeinde people will take advantage of their experimentation in farming, but it could be a considerable boost to their progress, being new in the types of farming in that country. There is a cattle ranch only a few miles east.

This land is much different from that in Mexico. They will not grow wheat and oats, but rice, beans, and tropical crops. Completely new methods of farming must be adopted. The market place for their produce will be by road to Belize. Land clearing cannot be done during the rainy season, nor can they work on the fields during that time. This is done during the dry season, the months of February to the end of May. Several of their ministers have also moved, so that the spiritual ministry is being carried on.

Old Colony Mennonites

By May of 1958, over one hundred families of the Old Colony Mennonites from the Cuauhtemoc area had moved to the northwest corner of British Honduras. This land is south of the Blue Creek River with Mexico just across the river. At present there are still small groups moving, in spite of the wishes of Isaak Dyck that they stop moving until those in the British Honduras can settle down, clear some land, plant a few crops, and lay out the villages. The people in Mexico are impatient to leave.

The Old Colony people have bought one hundred and fourteen thousand acres at three dollars and fifty cents per acre. There are about fifty acres of cleared land, the rest being forest. Together with the land they purchased three caterpillars and a motor grader. This will be used for land clearing and roal building. A good graded road to Orange Walk about twenty-five miles away is a prime necessity, and will likely be begun as soon as the rainy season ends. This will make health facilities more available also. There is a passable road even in wet weather, from Orange Walk to Belize, a distance of about sixty-five miles. During the rainy season transportation is possible by river to Douglas, a river port, and from there by road to Belize.

During the dry season timber is felled, and the brush is cut with a "machete," a heavy bush knife. After a week in the hot sun the brush is ready to be burned, and the logs can then be removed with greater ease. One estimate for land clearing was sixteen dollars British Honduras money per acre. This would not include any plowing. Smaller mahogany trees are plentiful, but it will take considerable time for these to mature to usefulness for lumber. The larger trees have all been cut down and marketed. The few mahogany trees left could be sold for as much as several hundred dollars per tree.

The group now there is building dwellings for themselves, all at one location. The houses are built of wood, with plenty of wire screen for ventilation. Wood costs about twelve to fifteen cents British Honduras money per board foot, about the same as in Mexico. After the land is cleared they will lay out the various villages. This will be done during the dry season. Garden produce does very well.

As yet the Old Colony people have no resident minister. Jakob Dyck left Mexico with one group, and served the people until his return May 31, and he plans to move back to the Honduras. In the meantime, two other ministers, Franz Rempel of the Swift Current settlement and Jakob Harms of the Manitoba settlement, have gone down to serve the people. By May they had had four funerals already. Two little children died, disease unknown, and two boys about eight and twelve years old drowned in the river.

There seems to be little or no present opportunity for earning while the settlers wait to clear their land. This may soon impose an extra burden on the Old Colony people in Mexico, if the newcomers are not to become a relief problem to the government which they promised they would not be. Some went there with little reserves in money. Almost everything has to be bought as yet, and this will soon deplete the savings of the poorer people.

It is the Swift Current and Manitoba settlements which have purchased this land in the northwest corner of the British Honduras. According to some reports, the north colony people of Mexico have rented some land not far from Belize for the time being. They have not yet decided to throw in their lot near the Old Colony groups from the other two settlements, although their area is big enough, and more land is available immediately adjacent.

The settlers have agreed with the government of British Honduras, on certain conditions, just as our fathers agreed with governments in Prussia, Russia, Canada, U.S.A. and Paraguay. These Mennonites will be allowed to have their own German schools, they will be exempt from military service and taking the oath, and they will have freedom of worship.

This is a new venture. Many of us wonder why people will risk their capital, family, life, and future, for a life of pioneering and adventure. "Es wird viel Schweiss kosten" said Raymond Wagler of McPherson, who accompanied this group and reported back. On talking with Isaak Dyck, one could tell that he had many doubts and fears concerning their new venture. But despite it all, they are looking for a new ray of hope—the promised land—Utopia.

Germantown Commemorates 275th Anniversary

The Promised Land

By ELLIS GRABER

NOW the Lord said to Abraham, 'Go from your country and your kindred and your father's house to the land that I will show you" (Genesis 12:1). The King James Version puts the call of Abraham even more graphically, "Get thee out of thy country." Out from your kindred! Out from your father's house!

This is a strange language to us, the implications of which are difficult to fathom. To leave one's native land, relatives, property, all that is near and dear and move out across mountains, plains, and sea to an unknown destination to begin all over again—that for most of us, I say, is an unknown experience.

It must have been hard for Abraham. Ur of Chaldees in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries before Christ had a high culture which anticipated that of Egypt, Assyria, Phoenicia and Greece. For Abraham, who had wealth and possessions, it meant giving up a two-story brick house of comfort for the nomadic life of the desert tent. At seventy-five years of age a man is more inclined to retire on social security than to take up cattle, sheep, camels and servants to lead a caravan on a long, wearisome, uncharted trek.

Where was he to go? The Scriptures tell us he did not know. But he had a call and a promise, "Get thee out . . . to a land that I will show you . . . and I will bless you." And Abraham went!

Such is the call and such is the promise that has come repeatedly to our forefathers through the course of Mennonite history. They have always asked solely for the freedom to worship as they believed, for liberty of conscience. Nothing was more dear than this. The story of our heritage is the matchless epic of courage and faith, suffering and deprivation, blessing and prosperity, revealing itself in what our historians call "waves of migrations."

The Recurring Call

Beginning in 1525 in the cradle of our faith at Zurich, Switzerland, men were killed like flies, imprisoned, burned at the stake, beheaded, killed and quartered as cattle. A voice said, "Get thee out. . . ." From Switzerland they fled by the thousands to Strassburg. In 1557 in that city a meeting was held with 50 elders present representing 50 churches, some with a membership of over 500. By 1600, only 43 years later, we are told not one of these churches was intact. The heavy persecution tolled the tune "Get thee out . . ." and our fathers fled far and near.

The story of the coming of the Mennonite-Quakers 275 years ago in 1685 from Crefeld to Germantown was another answer to the call which we commemorate here today with reverence.

Ever and again our people were caught in a struggle with their faith. Ever and again God said, "Go from your country . . . to the land that I will show you." And they went. Out of Holland to the Vistula Delta to clear swamps, to Prussia, to Russia, to America, Paraguay, Uruguay, Canada, Mexico, wave upon wave of migrations.

What does this call of Abraham which subsequently came to our people mean for us today?

Move Across Boundaries

First, the call is to move across national, geographical and physical boundaries. It was as simple as that for Abraham and our fathers, but underneath that call were implications of world-wide proportions. People transplanted from one country to another through pangs of experience grow in breadth of understanding, depth of vision, and sense of values. Usually they surpass those who never get out of one country or culture.

With the amalgamation of two cultures, for a time, if not for lifetime, it is as though they have two homes, the one they left and the one into which they have come. Adjustments are difficult and only with the passing of time surely and slowly the boundaries of language, culture and nationality are erased. It is good for us to see that from the call of Abraham to our day God has been doing His utmost to break down and erase these artificial barriers that separate brother from brother.

Today, even with most countries of the world settled, the call remains the same. Still God calls us to move out in our thinking, in our living, in our faith, from concepts that are limited by opinion, nationalism, or narrow denominationalism to unexplored vistas of thought and human relationship which God would show us.

Much as we love our country, our kindred, our property, in the spirit of those who have gone before we must cherish our faith even more. With them we stand ready to forsake all. We hear Jesus say, "He who does not hate father and mother, and brother and sister is not worthy of me." Our field becomes the entire world.

Move Out With Faith

Secondly, the call is to move out with faith. "By faith Abraham went out not knowing where he was to go" Hebrews 11:8. The fact remains that he went with confidence that in the end it would be for the good.

If a man can believe in the reality of tomorrow and in the goodness which it will surely bring, and then moves on as if the things which he can not see, feel, or touch will exist in the unknown just as surely as the things he beholds today, then that man has faith. If he can not act on that assumption he is faithless.

All too often today we have the vague conception of faith expressed by the little lad who defined it in Sunday school as "Faith is believing what you know ain't so." What a contrast this is to the classic definition of Hebrews which our forefathers experienced, "Faith is the assurance of things hoped for, the conviction of things not seen."

Let us remind ourselves today that our sires had a tremendous faith. Read again the accounts in the *Martyr's Mirror,* many substantiated by authentic court records. See a devout faith in Almighty God, unshakable in the belief of separation of church and state and other doctrines accepted today.

Or, consider just one of many possible accounts—the epic of Paraguay and our people. I've been told of a university professor who remarked in his classroom, "No person can live and survive in the Green Hell of the Chaco in Paraguay." A student spoke up, "But the Mennonites are living there." Said the professor, "But the Mennonites do the impossible."

Again, turn to our world-wide relief program in which we endeavor to help people around the world to help themselves. Consider our endeavors to establish the indigenous church in our mission fields. On many fronts you have the story of how we have heard and are answering the call to move out with a strong, abiding faith.

If you want to see a real "faith-work," then I suggest you make a realistic appraisal of how God has called and led us out from where we have been toward the land of promise to which we are going.

Move With Obedience

Thirdly, it is a calling to move out obediently. "Abraham obeyed when he was called to go to a place which he was to receive as an inheritance" Hebrews 11:8.

Faith and action always go together. With Paul we must be able to say, "I was not disobedient to the heavenly vision." We have been known as a peculiar people for whom faith and works are inseparable.

We rejoice today in recalling the first formal protest against slavery signed at this table before us by Germantown pioneers, Mennonites and others. Let us also remind ourselves that our fathers were somewhat unique in that they not only protested against slavery, but actually had no slaves. They practised what they preached.

Today, our call in this aspect comes with increasing clarity. We have rising crime rates, immorality, divorce, mental illness, juvenile delinquency, in the face of increased church membership. A paradox indeed!

Or consider the dilemma of selling 9,500,000 copies of the Bible in America in one year, only to find in a nation-wide survey that 53 per cent of the Americans can not name a single book of the New Testament.

Quite obviously owning the scriptures and searching the scriptures are two different things. It is also evident our words are way ahead of our deeds. The lag of religious practice today offers us a unique opportunity to answer this call of God to obedience. What a glorious privilege to make the thought and deed one!

An Abiding Reward

There is a twofold reward in answering this call of God. The first is that of sheer survival and life.

The divine principle which holds for us, both as individuals and collectively as a denomination, was put to us by Jesus when he said, "He that will save his life shall lose it, and he that loses his life for my sake shall find it."

If we cling together, hoarding jealously that one talent which God has given us, zealously striving for self-preservation we shall utterly fail. But if with boldness and courage we give to the winds of God our fears, declare to the world our faith, risking all that we have and all that we are, we shall live.

The second reward is that of blessing. "I will bless you . . . and make you a blessing."

Slowly, ever so slowly, we learn with Abraham that it is not primarily the numerical strength of God's people but the measure of dedication that makes the difference. It is the quality of life that determines the measure of God's blessing. Today we are humbly grateful for every blessing God has seen fit to bestow upon us.

Abraham never did live to possess the promised land. God explained, "To your descendants will I give this land." But, as the writer of Hebrews put it, Abraham was not concerned with geographical boundaries. Instead, "He looked forward to the city which has foundations, whose builder and maker is God."

The vision which we have of a world of peace and brotherhood, where men will live as Christ taught us to live likely will not be realized in our own lifetime. Nevertheless, with Abraham we are called to go out with courage, faith, and obedience toward this promised land, that some day our descendants may be blessed in that earthly kingdom which has foundations, whose builder and maker is God.

May this historic church of Germantown and all her children ever be found true.

The Oldest American Mennonite Church

The Beginnings of Germantown

By CORNELIUS KRAHN

IT WAS on October 24, 1683, that a group of Quakers from Crefeld, Germany, who had been Mennonites, laid out the townsite of Germantown along a single village street by drawing lots to decide the allocation of the plots of land for the families. The thirteen families, consisting of thirty-three persons, had arrived in Philadelphia on the "Concord" on October 6. All of them came from Crefeld where the Quakers had won some adherents among the Mennonites and two families later rejoined the Mennonites. However, a total of sixteen Mennonite families came from Crefeld to Germantown between 1683 and 1703. Others came from the Lower Rhine, Hamburg, and the Netherlands. All of these early settlers spoke Dutch. Soon some settlers from the Palatinate, Germany, followed.

In addition to the Quakers and Mennonites who came to Germantown, numerous other pioneers settlers, primarily German pietists, also went there. The chief promoter of this settlement was Francis D. Pastorius, agent for the Frankfurt Land Company, who purchased fifteen thousand acres of land for this settlement from William Penn's agents in 1683 and went to Pennsylvania during that year to locate the land. It was on this land six miles north of Philadelphia that the Crefeld settlers established themselves.

The Mennonite population of Germantown was never very large and the church remained small. The significance of this group lies in the fact that some outstanding individuals came from here, and that Germantown was the first permanent Mennonite settlement in America and served as a gateway for a flood of immigrants who followed and settled from the Atlantic to the Pacific. This fact makes the commemoration of the 275th anniversary of Germantown a significant one for the Mennonites everywhere.

By 1708 enough Mennonites had arrived in Germantown to organize a church. The group had been meeting for fellowship and worship privately before that time. Worship services had been started as early as 1690. Originally the Mennonites had worshipped with the Quakers. In 1708 the first baptism and communion services were observed. Willem Rittenhouse was the first minister, and Jacob Gottschalk was the second. The church was joined by Palatine Mennonites who started coming in 1707. The membership was ninety-nine in 1712, forty-six in 1789. After the General Conference Mennonite Church had been established, the church joined this Conference in 1863. The meetinghouse established in 1770 is still in use and is located with its ancient burial grounds along historical Germantown Avenue (6100), which is now a part of North Philadelphia. The Meetinghouse is in trusteeship of a joint board composed of representatives of the congregation, the Eastern District Conference, and the General Conference Mennonite Church.

Numerous activities have been undertaken during the year 1958 to commemorate the founding of Germantown two hundred and seventy-five years ago, and the organization of the church two hundred and fifty years ago. Particularly the local congregation and the Eastern District Conference were active in this commemoration. Members of the Historical Committees of the General Conference and its districts met in the Germantown Church for this purpose on July 22, 1958.

Great changes have taken place, not only in historic Germantown and its congregation, but also in greater Philadelphia. Recent population shifts cause us to wonder whether this historical church and site can be preserved for any length of time. The ideal solution would be to make this a missionary outreach post and a historical marker for the Mennonites of America at the same time.

Members of the Historical Committees of General Conference and districts meeting for business and to commemorate the 275th anniversary in the Germantown Mennonite Church, July 22, 1958. From left to right: Maynard Shelly, Menno Schrag (chairman), Delbert Gratz, Gerhard Lohrenz, Ellis Graber, John F. Schmidt, Ray Hacker, Cornelius Krahn (secretary).

Sketch of original log Germantown Mennonite Church and present church building with cemetery and Rittenhouse monument.

Mennonite Landmarks in Germantown

By WILLIAM HENRY SHELLY

FIRST of all let us refresh our minds on Germantown's origins. Heads of thirteen families coming from Crefeld, Germany, met in Francis Daniel Pastorius' "cave" home at the Delaware River, to draw lots for ownership of ground in the new settlement. William Penn it was who called it "the German towne," and the charter he granted them in 1689 gave almost self-government. Theirs became the first community established independent of governmental or commercial patronage. Town lots 231 feet wide were quickly laid out, and cabins appeared along the main street. The people were not farmers by trade, but linen weavers; industrious, frugal, hospitable, loving comfort and substance. So the village increased. Even after the Revolutionary War it remained thoroughly German. Consolidation with the city of Philadelphia came only in 1854.

For a visit to Germantown we would suggest that the first stop be the Germantown Mennonite Church at No. 6121 Germantown Avenue which was built in 1770 and is still standing in its original condition. Prior to this little stone church the Mennonites had a Log Meetinghouse on the same site which was built in 1708, twenty-five years after the first settlement. William Rittenhouse (Willem Ruddinghuysen) who came from Amsterdam, Holland, became their first minister. He was a papermaker by trade and soon after his arrival he erected his paper mill on the banks of the Monoshone Creek, a tributary of the Wissahickon Creek which is located about a quarter mile west of Germantown Avenue at Rittenhouse Street and Wissahickon Avenue. A large stone monument is erected in the cemetery adjoining the Germantown Church to his memory which was placed there by the Pennsylvania Historical Commission. An original pew and a communion table on which the early Protest Against Slavery was written are part of the furnishings of this meetinghouse. In the meetinghouse is a plaque showing the names of all the ministers who have served this congregation from the beginning. A facsimile of the original protest is hanging on the wall in the rear Sunday school room.

Now let us step into the graveyard where lie the remains of the early ministers and members. Notice the dark soapstone markers of Keyser, Kulp, Funk, Gorgas, Fisher and Rittenhouse families. The ground on which the church and cemetery stand was originally owned by the first minister, William Rittenhouse who deeded it to Arnold van Fossen, who in turn deeded it to the meeting for the erection of a meetinghouse and a place for the burial of their dead. The earliest burial was that of one of the early ministers, Dirk Keyser who died in 1714; his son, also Derick Keyser, was buried in 1756. The markers of the family of Jacob Funk, who served the congregation the longest period as minister, are along the walk to the entrance of the church.

Rittenhouse Home

Our next stop should be the site of the William Rittenhouse house at Rittenhouse Street and Wissahickon

Front and back of Rittenhouse house at Rittenhouse Street and Wissahickon Avenue, Germantown, where David Rittenhouse was born.

Avenue. This can be reached by starting at Germantown Avenue and Rittenhouse (at No. 5800) and driving west on Rittenhouse Street for about one-half mile to Wissahickon Drive. Here we see the original Dwelling-house of William Rittenhouse and the remains of the last mill. The first mill was erected by Rittenhouse soon after his arrival in Germantown, about 1690. The first mill was washed away by a freshet in 1701; this was succeeded by three more, the last being erected in 1780 by his successors who were members of his family. His first dwelling which still stands, was built in 1707. The house was possessed by the Rittenhouse family until 1890, when the site was turned over to the Fairmount Park Commission. The old house, with its bronze tablet commemorating the achievements of William and David Rittenhouse, is a fitting memorial to these remarkable men in a long line of Americans. David, the grandson, was born here. He was an astronomer, mathematician, and a statesman.

Pastorius House

Now let us drive back to Germantown Avenue to look for more landmarks. Drive south on Germantown to No. 6000. At the corner of High Street rears the New Germantown High School, also the gothic First Methodist Church. We know that this is the location of Pastorius' original house. When demolished, the stones were used to build the rear wing of No. 25 High Street. Adjoining the first Pastorius house was a house erected by his great-grandson, Daniel in 1796, and when High Street was opened on this spot in 1897, it had to be moved to the north, because the house lay in the bed of High Street. In 1898, when the First Methodist Church was erected, the house was moved around the corner to No. 25 High Street, at the rear of the church. Where the great pioneer is buried is a mystery, though it is likely that the garden of his home was his final resting place.

On the same tract, just above the new chapel of the Methodist Church, Germantown Avenue has one more Pastorius relic, the former Green Tree Inn, with the initials of Daniel and Sarah in the gable. This was a favorite resort in Revolutionary times and long after; rendezvous of driving and sleighing parties out of the city, and a place where sailors foregathered for target practice in the yard. In a room here in, December, 1759, the Union School was founded.

Monument to Founders of Germantown

Our next stop should be Vernon Park in which is located the Wister Mansion of 1803, named for the home of President George Washington. John Wister, a merchant of Philadelphia bought it, and John Wister, Jr., member of Congress, lived here until his death in 1883. We see him in the statue standing before the manor house. In this park stands an imposing memorial by a German sculptor, Albert Jaegers, commemorating the Founders of Germantown. We want to give space to this memorial for in it is the history of the first thirteen sett-

Drawing of the Rittenhouse mill which is no longer in existence.

lers of Germantown. The memorial was dedicated Nov. 10, 1920, before a great assemblage of descendants of the original settlers, city, state and federal representatives. The movement for the erection of this memorial had its inspiration in the celebration of the 225th anniversary of the founding of Germantown in 1908. Mayor J. Hampton Moore of Philadelphia, while a member of Congress interested himself in the project, and the bill for an appropriation which he introduced was passed in 1912. Congress contributed $25,000, provided an equal amount was raised by private subscription. The German-American Alliance collected the necessary money and the government undertook the erection of the memorial. The erection was begun early in 1917, but because of World War I and also the breaking of one of the panels, its completion was delayed until 1920. At the dedication the invocation was given by N. B. Grubb, pastor of the First Mennonite Church of Philadelphia; Miss Mary Bancroft Clossen, daughter of Dr. and Mrs. James H. Clossen, a descendant of Abraham op den Graeff, one of the original settlers, unveiled the memorial.

The monument can be described in this manner:

A figure of a woman holding a lamp surmounts the memorial and is designated as "Civilization."

The front elevation bears a base relief which is declared to be the finest thing about the memorial. It is entitled "The Pilgrims," and shows a sturdy settler and his wife apparently braced for the struggle with the unknown future. The inscription beneath it gives the names of the first thirteen settlers and Francis Daniel Pastorius as follows:

> "In commemoration of the landing of the German colonists October 6, 1683—Franz Daniel Pastorius, Dirk, Herman, and Abraham op den Graeff, Thunes Kunders, Lenart Arens, Reinert Tisen, Willem Streypers, Jen Lensen, Peter Keurlis, Jan Siemens, Johann Bleikers, Abraham Teunes, and Jan Lueken, with their families, thirty persons in all."

The west side bears a base relief depicting the first protest against human slavery. A woman grasping a shield is shown defending a shackled Negro. The inscription reads:

> "The first protest of the Germans of Germantown against slavery on February 18, 1688."

On the east side is a bas-relief representing the services of the Germans in American wars. A youth is bringing a sword to Columbia. These words appear:

> "To the memory of the hundreds of German volunteers in American wars."

The base relief at the rear shows the German as a worker, in the form of a youth seated upon an anvil and holding a hammer in his hand. Here is carved Pastorius' salutation to Germantown as he wrote it in Latin in the record of land conveyances which he kept. (*Lager-Buch.*)

Morris House

No. 5442. Excepting the White House, there are but two presidential mansions now standing in America. In one Washington found refuge in the latter half of November during the height of the yellow fever epidemic of 1793, and returned for two months the following summer to escape the summer heat. This one still stands in perfect condition at 5442 and is known as Morris House. The noble manor was built in 1772 by "Honest David" Deschler (Deschler's slave), a West Indian merchant. Of him we know that he altered the shape of the house rather than sacrifice a plum tree at the side. At Christmas, 1777, while our army was starving at Valley Forge, General Howe of the English army gave his fellow officers a feast in this building. Roast beef, plum pudding, wine and spirits, a set piece in cake, ice cream brought from Philadelphia—some say the feast continued three days. While in residence the President issued a proclamation on the Whiskey Rebellion in western Pennsylvania. Later the house came into the possession of the Perots and the Morris family. Now it is the property of the Historical Society of Germantown.

Opening opposite is "the Green"—Market Square, since 1703 the center of the village and focus of its life. This half acre, purchased for four pounds, held the market, hay scales, stocks, jail and Friendship Firehouse. The prison at the near right was a log affair, and one night when a drunkard was locked up his friends dropped over to pry up one end and set him free. But strangely

Morris House and Germantown Historical Society Museum, both on Germantown Avenue and built in 1772.

enough, this man afterward bought this snuggery and made it his home. Market day was twice a week, when long chains of wagons from the "Dutch Country" choked the single rough road. Delegations of Indians bound for Philadelphia to meet with William Penn and returning would bivouac here, and were fed. (See table in Museum.)

Historical Society of Germantown

Our next stop will be the Conyngham-Hacker House at 5214 which houses the Museum of the Historical Society of Germantown. This Museum contains many interesting and valuable items from Colonial times to the present day. Among which, to mention only a few are:

> The Original Land Grant, from William Penn to Francis Daniel Pastorius, dated 1689; Four Peale Portraits — the Peale family were notable early American artists; A gate-legged table, said to have been used in Market Square for serving feasts to the visiting Indians, probably the Lenni Lenape tribe; and all three editions of the Sauer Bible (1743, 1763, 1776).

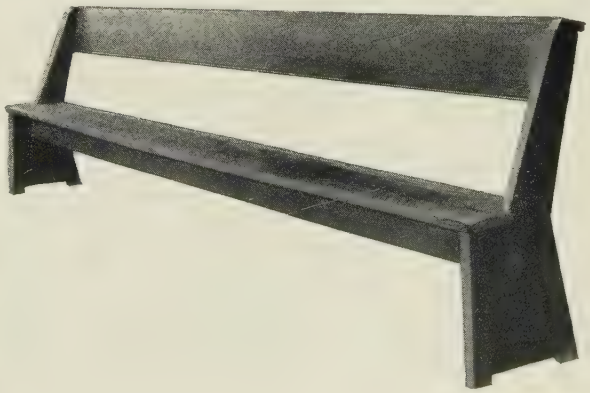
The library, of equal importance and interest with the museum, has on its shelves a wealth of books and material on Germantown and Pennsylvania history. This includes many family Bibles and family records, old deeds, survey maps and rare manuscripts.

At No. 5253 is the site where Christopher Sauer had his first printery, where he printed his Almanacs and the first German Bible in America in 1743. Christopher was by turn a tailor, farmer, apothecary, surgeon, clockmaker, optician, botanist, papermaker. He and his son, Christopher, Jr., finally made all their own materials for the printery, casting the first type in America. Christopher, Jr., carried on the business, and became the first bishop of the Dunker church (Church of the Brethren). A plaque can be seen in the Dunker church located at No. 6611 Germantown Avenue, which church was established in 1770.

Now let us go to the site of the Thones Kunder House at No. 5109. It was here that Kunders, one of the thirteen first settlers, built a substantial stone home. It was here that the first settlers held their early religious meetings, and shortly after, in 1688, they issued the First Protest against Slavery "traffick-in men-body." Among Kunder's descendants was Sir Samuel Cunard, founder of the Cunard Steamship Line.

(Top) Towering statue of William Penn, Philadelphia, and title page of Christopher Saur Bible (Germantown), first Bible printed in America in a European language.

Christopher Dock monument in Lower Skippick Mennonite Cemetery with the inscription "Here Christopher Dock, who in 1750 wrote the earliest American essay on Pedagogy, taught school; here in 1771 he died on his knees in prayer." Dock also taught school in Germantown and the bench shown, now in the Germantown Mennonite Church, is supposedly to have been in use in his school.



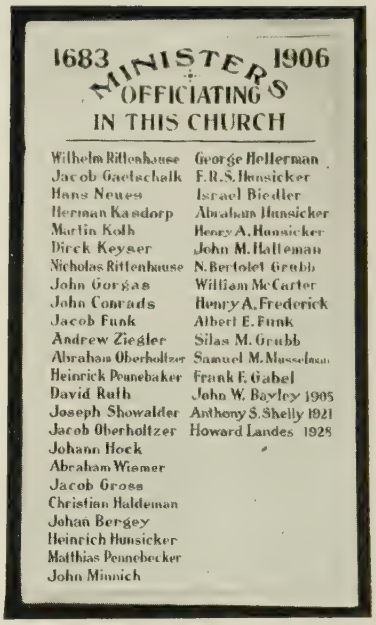
The First Mennonite Minister in America

By HAROLD S. BENDER

THAT the first Mennonite minister in America, William Rittenhouse, should also have been the founder of a notable and very successful business, the manufacture of paper, is quite in accord with the lay preacher tradition of the Mennonite churches of that time in Europe from which he came. It was also fully in line with the spirit of the young Mennonite brotherhood just being established in America.

It is disappointing, to be sure, that we know more about Rittenhouse the first paper-maker in America than Rittenhouse the first Mennonite preacher in America. But we do know that he was elected minister in 1690, two years after his arrival in Germantown, the same year in which the paper-mill was built. Most of his churchly endeavors, outside of preaching and leading the little flock of Dutch-speaking Lower Rhine Mennonites, seem to have been frustrated. Although land was secured for a meetinghouse in 1702, the church was not built until 1708, a year after his death. He tried to get the Dordrecht Confession translated and printed in English in New York for the witness of the congregation to their English-speaking neighbors, but it was his successor, Jacob Godschalk who finally accomplished this in 1712 in Amsterdam. He sought to secure an elder (bishop) from Europe to come to America to ordain a bishop here (a Germantown member named Berends wrote to Hamburg-Altona in 1702 about this), and in 1706 he wrote to Amsterdam, for help, but in vain. Hesitating at first to follow the advice of the European leaders to proceed with the administration of the ordinances of baptism and communion, which apparently had never been enjoyed by the Germantown congregation to that time, he finally decided to do so, but became ill and died on February 18, 1708, before he could carry through. Again it was Jacob Godschalk who executed the unfinished task and in April of that year baptized eleven men and women, a month later observing the Lord's Supper with forty-five persons. This is all we know of the seventeen-year ministry of the one who sincerely and humbly served the little Germantown flock as best he could as its first spiritual leader.

Where William Rittenhouse learned the paper-making craft, whether at Mülheim on the Ruhr in the principality of Broich, where he was born in 1644, or at Arnhem in Holland where a brother did learn it, is unknown, but he and his son Nicholas learned their craft well. He seems to have left his home about 1670 to go to Arnhem to make paper there, and in 1678 became a citizen of Amsterdam. The Rittenhouse linen rag paper with its water marks WR and KR was the only American-made paper for many years. It was used to print the Philadelphia *American Weekly Mercury* (est. 1719), the first paper printed in New York. The Andrew Bradford imprints (Bradford was the first printer in the Middle Colonies), were apparently all printed on Rittenhouse paper, including the first Mennonite book published in America, the 1727 edition of the Dordrecht Confession. The paper-making business, an outstanding success in quality and profit, was carried on as a Rittenhouse family proprietorship for a hundred and fifty years, although the mill itself, first built in Roxborough on the Wissahickon Creek just outside the Germantown village boundary in 1690, was washed away by spring freshets once, and though rebuilt, no longer stands. The Rittenhouse family dwelling built nearby in 1707 has been preserved and stands today in Fairmount Park near the site of the old mill.



List of ministers of the Germantown Mennonite Church, 1683-1923 headed by Wilhelm Rittenhouse.

Not all the descendants of the first Germantown minister have remained in the Mennonite faith, but a considerable number are still in the good fellowship of the church to this day. Among them are Jacob Rittenhouse, Jacob C. Clemens and his son, Paul Rittenhouse Clemens, all ministers at Lansdale, Pennsylvania. Nicholas Rittenhouse, the son of the first William, was a preacher in the Germantown congregation at least before 1725 and possibly as early as 1712. The most illustrious descendant of William was without doubt David Rittenhouse, grandson of Nicholas, America's first scientific astronomer, who built orreries for Princeton University and the University of Pennsylvania, as well as an observatory and a transit telescope. He also served as treasurer of Pennsylvania

(Continued on page 177)

Germantown, a Mennonite Gateway

By J. C. WENGER

IT would be difficult to overemphasize the significance of Germantown in the history of Mennonitism in America. It was in Germantown that the first permanent Mennonite settlement was made. It was there that the first regular Sunday services were held, even before the ordination of a preacher. It was there that the first Mennonite minister was chosen, William Rittenhouse, probably in 1690. And it was there that various kinds of Mennonites began to amalgamate, for after a year of separate church life the Palatine Mennonites merged with the Dutch and Lower Rhine *Doopsgezinden* (1708). And it was there that the first American Mennonite bishop or elder began to function, Jacob Godshalk, ordained minister in 1702, and who began to function as a bishop in 1708. And there the first meetinghouse was built in 1708.

Godshalk himself used Germantown as a gateway to what was destined to become a major Mennonite conference, that now is known as Franconia. Martin Kolb, who was chosen minister at Germantown in 1708 moved out to the Skippack settlement, about twenty miles to the north, the next year, and a few years later Godshalk followed. But they were not the first settlers in Skippack. That honor goes to some Mennonite laymen who preceded them by a number of years, for the settlement was begun at Skippack in 1702 by Joh. Kuster, Claus Jansen, Jan Krey, and others.

Skippack, therefore, was the first country Mennonite settlement, in contrast with the village of Germantown which was then seven miles from Philadelphia but is now a part of the city. Skippack had a minister by 1709 and a bishop three or four years later. It had a farm of one hundred acres by 1717, and a house of worship by 1725. Skippack, perhaps named from the Swiss *Schüpbach* in the Emmental, was therefore the original strong country congregation of what grew into the present Franconia Conference of the "Mennonite Church," and the eastern portion of the Eastern District Conference of the General Conference Mennonite Church. Beginning in 1702 more and more European immigrants, as they arrived at the port of Philadelphia on the Delaware, passed by Germantown and pressed on out into what is now Bucks and Montgomery counties; indeed the settlements spread over into the present counties of Northampton, Lehigh, Berks, and Chester. But the center of the bulk of the congregations soon became a spot near the present town of Souderton, and the center has remained there.

Before 1720 Mennonites were settling in the Schuylkill Valley from the Phoenixville to the Pottstown areas, the best known of these congregations being Coventry, where the first meetinghouse was built about 1753, and Vincent, perhaps built around the same time. As early as 1717 Bishop Valentine Clemmer of Europe settled in the Great Swamp area in the northwestern portion of Bucks County, and here the West Swamp meetinghouse was erected about 1735. The first Hereford meetinghouse was built in the east-central portion of Berks County in 1732.

The vigorous settlements of the Franconia Mennonites, ninety or more per cent of ultimate Swiss origin, was not in the outlying areas, but in Bucks and Montgomery counties. The Salford congregation in Montgomery County was early established as a daughter of Skippack;

Franconia Mennonite Meetinghouse and cemetery near Franconia, Montgomery County, Pa. This is the largest congregation of the Franconia Conference.

the first deed there is dated 1738 and the meetinghouse had already been built. The Franconia congregation, in turn, was a sister congregation to Salford. The first Franconia log meetinghouse was put up about 1730. Franconia is the largest congregation in the conference, the present membership being 730. The Towamencin congregation had built a meetinghouse prior to 1728.

Crossing over into Bucks County, just a few miles north of Franconia is the Rockhill congregation which was established a decade or so after Franconia. But the Mennonite "capital" of Bucks County is Deep Run. Mennonites began to settle at Deep Run between 1710 and 1720, although the first meetinghouse was not erected until 1746. Perkasie, now called Blooming Glen, built its first house of worship about 1753. Lexington's first house of worship was built in 1752. Doylestown followed about two decades later.

By the time of John H. Oberholtzer's ordination (1842) the Franconia Conference consisted of twenty-two congregations: two in Lehigh County (Saucon and Upper Milford), two in Chester (Vincent and Coventry), seven in Montgomery (Franconia, Plains, Providence, Salford, Skippack, Towamencin, and Worcester), nine in Bucks (Deep Run, Blooming Glen, Doylestown, Lexington, Rockhill, Springfield, East Swamp, West Swamp, and Flatland), and two in Berks (Hereford and Boyertown). When the Oberholzter division occurred in 1847 the new conference claimed six meetinghouses, and alternated with the Franconia Conference Mennonites at seven other points.

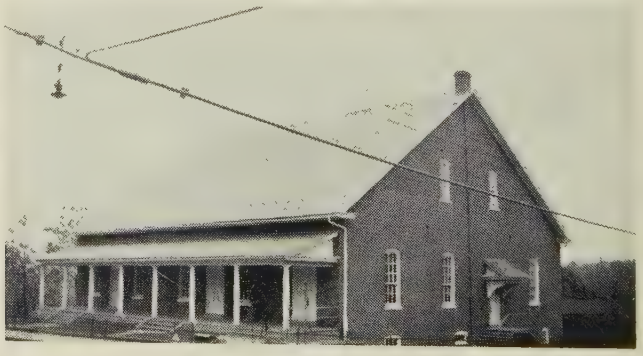
Although Germantown cannot be called the gateway to Lancaster in the same direct sense as to "Skippack" and its neighbors, yet the Swiss Palatine settlers who located along the Pequea and Conestoga rivers from 1710 onward, did "pass by" Germantown in a sense as they went from Philadelphia westward. Lancaster became the stronghold of Mennonitism in Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century, and has retained this distinction. By the middle of the eighteenth century there were some thirty congregations established. This number continued to grow, partly through recent mission work, so that the Lancaster Conference of the "Mennonite Church" now numbers 105 organized congregations, 83 unorganized congregations, and over 15,000 members. The Willow Street Church is the very oldest, having been established a few miles from the city of Lancaster in 1710. New Danville in the same general area followed in 1717, as did Mellingers (now almost 600 members) the same year. Rohrerstown began in 1718, and Millersville the next year. The Hess and Landis Valley congregations were established in 1720, as was also East Petersburg. Landisville followed in 1721, and Chestnut Hill and Weaverland (now 575 members) in 1723.

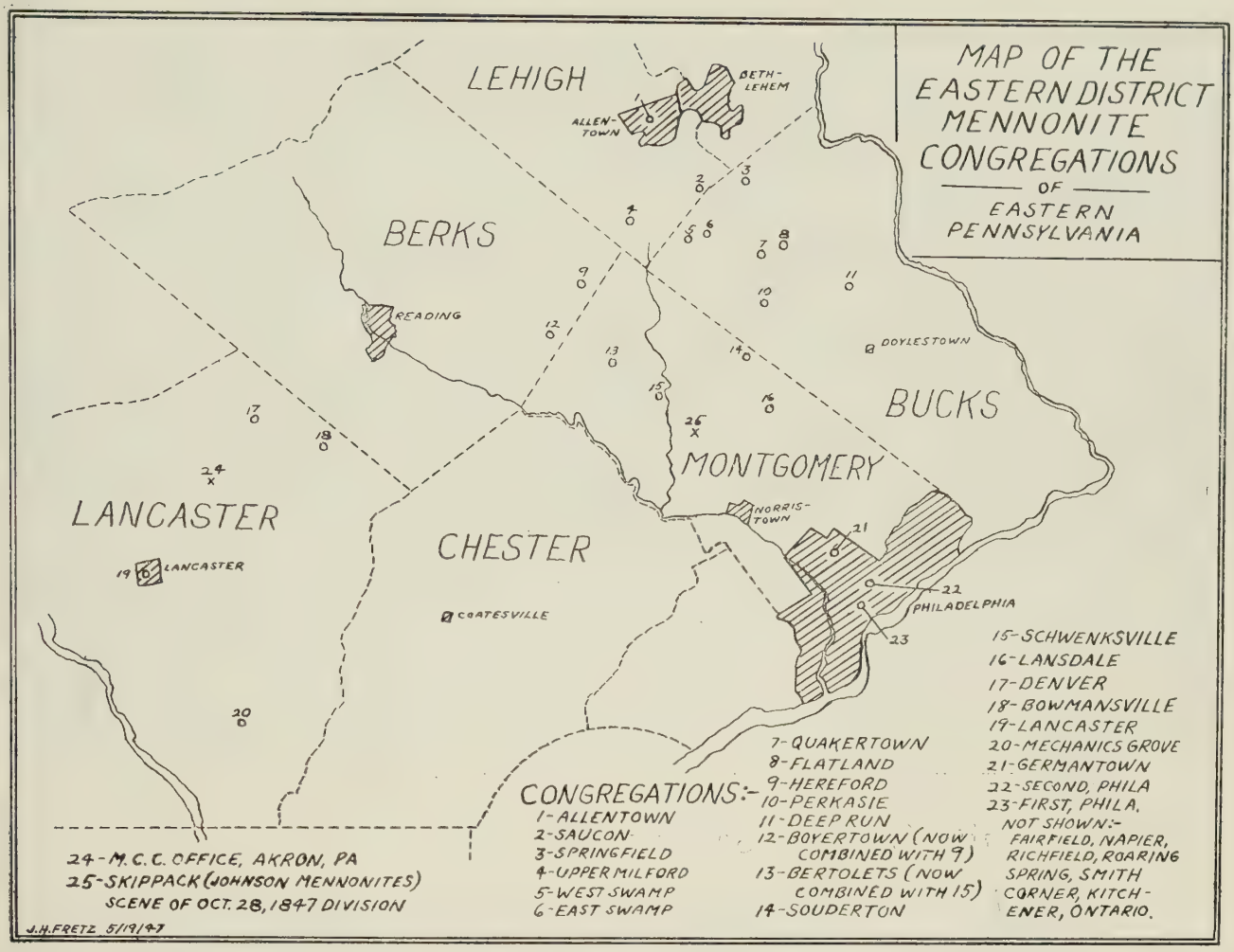
The Mennonites of the Lancaster Conference are almost pure Swiss by ethnic background, although many of their ancestors lived for one or more generations in the Palatinate before coming to America. To these rustic Swiss and Palatine farmers Germantown did not appeal, hence they pressed westward and established settlements in the delightful valleys and plains on all sides of the site of Hickorytown, now Lancaster.

For whatever reason, perhaps differing European backgrounds, a few minor points of difference obtained as between the older Skippack (now Franconia) and the later Pequea and Conestoga (now Lancaster) settlements. The Lancaster Mennonites observed communion and feetwashing services twice each year, which the Franconia Mennonites held their communion services only once each year, basing this by analogy on the annual Jewish observance of the Passover. Except for the Skippack congregation the Franconia Mennonites did not practice the washing of the saints' feet until the period 1875-1925 when it gradually was adopted over the area, the last congregation to largely observe it being the old Deep Run church (it was left optional for many decades, members being free to observe it if they wished, or free to desist; in Deep Run until recently, many desisted, including Jacob Rush, ordained in 1895 and an influential leader for many decades.

When the "Mennonite Church" organized its General Conference in 1898 three of the older conferences, Franconia, Lancaster, and Washington-Franklin, held aloof. They did not break fellowship, however, with

(Left) "Herrehaus," Montgomery County, Pa., where the followers of John Herr worshipped. Members of the Historical Committee visited this place July, 1958. On the picture are Fritz Stauffer, Germany, and Gerhard Lohrenz, Winnipeg. Souderton Meetinghouse of the Franconia Mennonite Conference.





Map of General Conference Eastern District Mennonite Congregations of Pennsylvania, showing counties in which Mennonites settled using Philadelphia and Germantown as gateway.

the other district conferences which affiliated with the General Conference. In recent years, however, all three conferences began to send delegates to the General Council of Mennonite General Conference (Old Mennonite), as well as the Ontario A. M. Conference, and the Conservative Mennonite Conference.

May this anniversary year serve to remind us all of the great debt we owe to our pioneer forefathers who braved the crossing of the ocean when that involved a real hardship, and who carved homes and farms out of the wilderness of Penn's Woods.

Springfield Mennonite Church, Pleasant Valley, Pennsylvania.

FIRST MENNONITE MINISTER

(Continued from page 174)

1777-89, as first director of the U. S. Mint 1792-95, and as president of the American Philosophical Society 1791-96 succeeding Benjamin Franklin, but was no adherent to the faith of his fathers.

Of the family life of Rittenhouse little is known except the names of his three children, Nicholas (Klaus), Gerhard (Garrett), and Elizabeth. He probably lies buried in the burial ground of the Mennonite Church in Germantown, where a cenotaph has been erected in his honor.

(George Allen, "The Rittenhouse Paper Mill and Its Founder," *MQR* XVI, 1942, 108-28; H. S. Bender, "William Rittenhouse, 1644-1708, First Mennonite Minister in America," *MQR* VIII, 1934, 58-61; D. K. Cassel, *A Genea-biographical History of the Rittenhouse Family* I, Phila., 1893.)

Parsonage of Zion Mennonite Church, Souderton, Pennsylvania, located on "Zion Acres" described in this article.

Zion Mennonite Church, Souderton, Pennsylvania Shows

New Service Trends

By GEORGE T. LONG

NOT many churches are blessed with an outdoor chapel, nested in acres of woodland, or a baseball diamond, or a picnic grove equipped with numerous fireplaces, tables and a well to supply refreshing water. And because their church does have these things, the members of Zion Mennonite Church, in Souderton, Pa., firmly believe that they are extremely fortunate. More especially perhaps, because in a single transaction they were also able to acquire a parish house, and the key to future expansion.

Using these facilities to great advantage, the church has climaxed, this past summer, a long series of events with four outdoor vesper services and one Sunday morning worship service in the outdoor amphitheater, which has held over eight hundred persons. It has held its own church school picnic in the four-acre grove with the adjoining baseball diamond, and has used these same facilities to accommodate similar groups from other churches, and has thrown open the place for family picnics among the families in the parish.

In addition, it has had a home field for its softball team which, for the past four years, has been the champion of the Eastern District Conference. In a community church league of various church denominations, the church team has been in second place each year, bowing only to the team which, in 1956, was runner-up in the state church tournament.

The acquisition of the tract of land, now referred to as "Zion Acres," has enabled the membership to take a long look into the future. They already have evidence of what can be done with a former "showplace" house, an interesting barn with a hand-powered "elevator" used to raise carriages and sleighs to a second-floor level, and fourteen acres of densely thicketed land.

The house, an old Souderton landmark, had been the summer home of a well-to-do Philadelphia merchant more than a half-century ago. Upon his death it was occupied by two unmarried daughters, who, a few years ago, decided it was too big for their needs and, with the land, required much more attention than they were able

Aerial view of "Zion Acres," Souderton, Pennsylvania. The lower right of the picture shows the parsonage and barn. (See preceding and following pages for parsonage. Barn is shown on pictures below and back cover.) On the right side of the picture is a parking area and a possible site for a new church. The grove of trees includes the outdoors place for vespers and the picnic area. Note ball diamond upper middle.

to give it. They returned to Philadelphia, and put the property up for sale.

The Zion members were able to make a successful bid for the entire tract. In so doing, they were able to accomplish numerous things. The outdoor chapel, baseball field, picnic grounds and abundant parking facilities have been the early results. Volunteer labor from the membership accomplished these transformations, clearing the land, building equipment and doing a Herculean job in ridding the land of immense patches of poison ivy.

Meanwhile, work was being done on the house. Structurally in excellent condition, with walls, flooring and joists showing none of the ravages of time, modernization of the house, rather than restoration, was all that was required. The lines of the house still remain unchanged, but modern appliances and fixtures have replaced those originally installed.

Carriage elevator (lower left) attracts much attention as a unique feature of the large strikingly painted barn (below).

The Rev. and Mrs. Ellis Graber with their children: Charles (10), Connie (6), and Joan (1). (Right top) Polished parquet floor of the parsonage. The completely remodeled knotty pine kitchen of the Zion Mennonite Church parsonage located on the "Zion Acres" (below).

The Pastor and the Parsonage

The result has been a "new" home for the pastor, and the conversion of the former parsonage into a building to house church school classes, a church office and pastor's study. With an ever-growing membership, the additional church school spaces answered a very definite need, as did also the office and study.

However, Zion Acres has much greater possibilities than those realized to date.

For, as church membership has grown over the past few years, the original church building has grown too small, and two services are needed to hold the Sunday morning congregations which frequently total close to 500 persons. Also, automobile parking space for these services is at a premium.

Zion Acres, with an abundance of space, offers the potential remedy for both the small-auditorium and the parking problems. Members are looking into the future, although no one cares to say whether that look is five, ten or some other number of years ahead. But the dream of a new, larger, and possibly even better equipped church, with abundant parking, plus the advantages which are already being enjoyed, undoubtedly already exists in the minds of some members. When the propitious time arises, action will be taken to bring any such dreams to fruition.

Meanwhile, the church is happy with its program of recreational activities, and the opportunity to worship out of doors. Planning has already been made for the appearance of nationally-known speakers at the outdoor vespers in 1959.

From a Commemoration Seventy-Five Years Ago

Bi-Centennial of Germantown

By SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER

EARLY in the seventeenth century an English admiral went to Rotterdam for a wife. According to Pepys, who described her later, she was "a well-looked, fat, short old Dutch woman, but one that hath been heretofore pretty handsome, and, I believe, hath more wit than her husband." The son of this woman was the Quarker, William Penn. He who would know the causes for the settlement of Pennsylvania, the purest, and in that it gave the best promise of what the future was to unfold, the most fateful of the American colonies, must go to the Reformation to seek them. The time has come when men look back through William Penn and George Fox to their masters, Menno Simons, the reformer of the Netherlands, Caspar Schwenckfeld, the nobleman of Silesia, and Jacob Boehme, the inspired shoemaker of Goerlitz. In that great upheaval of the sixteenth century, there were leaders who refused to stop where Luther, Calvin and Zwingli took a successful stand. The strong, controlling thought which underlay their teachings was that there should be no excercise of force in religion. The baptism of an infant was a compulsory method of bringing it into the Church, and they rejected the doctrine. An oath was a means of compelling the conscience, and they refused to swear. Warfare was a violent interference with the rights of others, and they would take part in no wars even for the purposes of self-protection. More than all in its political significance and effect, with keen insight and clear view, hoping for themselves what the centuries since have given to us, they for the first time taught that the injunctions of Christ were one thing and the power of man another, that the might of the state should have nothing to do with the creed of the church, and that every man in matters of faith should be left to his own convictions. Their doctrines, mingled as must be admitted with some delusions, spread like wildfire throughout Europe, and their followers could be found from the mountains of Switzerland to the dikes of Holland. They were the forlorn hope of the ages, and, coming into direct conflict with the interests of church and state, they were crushed by the concentrated power of both.

There is nothing in the history of Christendom like the suffering to which they were subjected, in respect to its extent and severity. The fumes from their burning bodies went up into the air from every city and village along the Rhine. The stories of their lives were told by their enemies, and the pages of history were freighted with the records of their alleged misdeeds. The name of Anabaptist, which was given them, was made a by-word and reproach, and we shrink from it with a sense of only half-forgotten terror even today. . . .

On this day, two hundred years ago, thirty-three of them, men, women, and children, landed in Philadelphia. The settlement of Germantown has a higher import, then, than that thirteen families founded new homes, and that a new burgh, destined to fame though it was, was builded on the face of the earth. It has a wider significance, even, than that here was the beginning of that immense emigration of Germans who have since flocked to these shores. Those thirteen men, humble as they may have been individually, and unimportant as may have been the personal events of their lives, holding as they

did opinions which were banned in Europe, and which only the fullness of time could justify, standing as they did on what was then the outer picket line of civilization, best represented the meaning of the colonization of Pennsylvania and the principles which lie at the foundation of her institutions. Better far than the Pilgrims who landed at Plymouth, better even than the Quakers who established a city of brotherly love, they stood for that spirit of universal toleration which found no abiding place save in America. Their feet were planted directly upon that path which leads from the darkness of the middle ages down to the light of the nineteenth century, from the oppressions of the past to the freedom of the present. Bullinger, the great reviler of the Anabaptists, in detailing in 1560 their many heresies, says they taught that "the government shall and may not assume control of questions of religion or faith." No such attack upon the established order of things had ever been made before, and the potentates were wild in their wrath. Menno went from place to place with a reward upon his head, men were put to death for giving him shelter, and two hundred and twenty-nine of his followers were burned and beheaded in one city alone. But, two centuries after Bullinger wrote, there was put into the constitution of Pennsylvania, in almost identical language: "No human authority can, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the right of conscience." The fruitage is here, but the planting and watering were along the Rhine. And today the Mennonites and their descendants are to be found from the Delaware River to the Columbia. The Schwenckfelders, hunted out of Europe in 1734, still meet upon the Skippack on the 24th of every September, to give thanks unto the Lord for their deliverance. This is the tale which Lensen, Kunders, Lucken, Tyson, Opdengraeff and the rest, as they sat down to weave their cloth and tend their vines in the woods of Germantown, had to tell to the world. . . .

The liberties of the press in America were established in the trial of John Peter Zenger. Man never knew the distance of the sun and stars until David Rittenhouse, of Germantown, made his observations in 1769. The oldest publishing house now existing on this continent was started by Sauer, in Germantown, in 1738. This first paper mill was built by Rittinghuysen upon the Wissahickon Creek, in 1690. The German Bible antedates the English Bible in America by nearly forty years, and the largest book published in the colonies came from the Ephrata press in 1749. From Pastorius, the enthusiast, of highest culture and gentlest blood, down to Seidensticker, who made him known to us, the Germans have been conspicuous for learning. To the labors of the Moravian missionaries, Zeisberger and Heckewelder, we largely owe what knowledge we possess of Indian history and philology. Samuel Cunard, a descendant of Thones Kunders in the fifth generation, established the first line of ocean steamers between America and England and was made a British Baronet. . . .

In the years yet to be, America will have greater gifts to offer unto the generations of men, will be better able to attain that destiny which, in the providence of God, she is to fulfill, because she has taken unto herself the outpourings of that people which neither the legions of Caesar, nor papal power, nor the genius of a Bonaparte were able to subdue.

(Excerpts from *An Address at the Bi-Centennial Celebration of the Settlement of Germantown, Pa., and the Beginning of German Emigration to America,* by Samuel W. Pennypacker, governor of Pennsylvania, in the Philadelphia Academy of Music, on the evening of October 6th, 1883.)

(Continued from page 152)

1894) contains some material, but still more is to be found in F. Hruby, *Die Wiedertäufer in Mähren,* Leipzig, 1935, based on a rich archival research in Moravia. My own travel report, "Die Habaner in der Slovakei" appeared in *Wiener Zeitschrift für Volkskunde,* 1927; the collection of the Brooklyn Museum is in part described by Julian Garner, "Haban pottery in the Brooklyn Museum," in *International Studio* (New York), September 1927, 20-25, with excellent illustrations; the most valuable contribution, however, is a study by Bela Krisztinkovich, "Beiträge zur Frage der Habaner Keramik," (in Kiss Janos, 1956) with splendid illustrations. The Diary of the Hutterite brethren who visited Europe after World War I (on microfilm in Bethel College Historical Library) contains information. Max Udo Kasparek published two brief essays: "Die Habanerhöfe in Südmähren," *Südmährisches Jahrbuch,* 1957, 92-94, with four good illustrations. and "Zur Tracht der Wiedertäufer in Mähren und der Slowakei," in *Südostdeutsche Heimatblätter,* München, 1956, 91-95, with two illustrations. Karl Layer (formerly director of the Arts and Crafts Museum in Budapest), *Oberungarische Habaner Fayencen,* Wien, 1927, with 70 half tone plates (text insignificant), perhaps the best group of illustrations in this area. *Mennonite Life* carried significant illustrations in July, 1946, pp. 40-42 and January, 1954, pp. 34-37.

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Germantown Anti-Slavery Protest

By J. HERBERT FRETZ

THE Germantown Anti-slavery Petition of 1688 was not the first recorded opposition to slavery in the New World. After the Pequot War of 1637 in the Connecticut Valley, Roger Williams protested when the Puritans sold captive Indians into slavery.[1] In 1671, the Quaker leader, George Fox, visited America, and from his experiences with slavery here printed a tract reiterating former ideas of his that all men were equal before God, including the Negro, and that the Gospel was also for the slaves, but Fox never protested the slavery system itself.

In 1663 a Mennonite-Collegiant from Holland, Pieter Cornelisz Plockhoy, founded a new colony in present-day Delaware and forbad slavery, probably the first colony to do so in the New World, but within a year the colony was wiped out by marauding British soldiers. Its short-lived existence seemed to have no effect by way of protest against the slave system as such. Even the memory of such a colony soon passed into oblivion. Another British Quaker, William Edmundsen, visiting America in 1676, is credited with first raising the vital issue: Is not slavery unchristian and wrong in itself, though his incidental reference to the question, raised in the post-script of a letter, can hardly be considered anything more than a mild mention of the issue.

It remained for a small group of Christians in Germantown to boldly face the issue raised by Edmundsen and, for the first time in the New World, clearly enunciate a case against the slavery system as such. There can be no question that the Germantown Petition of 1688 was a protest against the slavery system, and that it was squarely directed toward those who held slaves.

For years the petition was known only by references to it in the Quaker meeting records of 1688, until the original document was discovered by Nathan Kite, a Philadelphia antiquarian and bookseller, who published it in *The Friend,* January 13, 1844.[2] The manuscript appears to be a petition one and one-half pages long and concludes with this paragraph:

> "This is from our Meeting at Germantown held ye 18. of the 2. month 1688. to be delivered to the Monthly Meeting at Richard Warrels.
>
> garrett henderiks
> derick op de graeff
> Francis Daniell Pastorius
> Abraham op Den graef"

This last paragraph has two corrections, namely, "This was," changed to "This is"; and "our Monthly Meeting at Germantown," changed to "our meeting at Germantown." William I. Hull concludes:

> There was no "monthly meeting" set up at this time in Germantown, but only a "preparative meeting" which was a constituent part of the monthly meeting at Dublin, a few miles distant. It is probable that the protest was adopted by *all* the members of the Germantown meeting, and that "garrett henderiks" signed his name as the clerk to the copy to be sent to the monthly meeting, while the other three Friends signed theirs as members of the committee who were appointed to present the petition to the monthly meeting.[3]

Samuel Pennypacker and other historians since have thought the handwriting of the manuscript to be that of Pastorius and have thus cited him as its author. There is real question as to whether the handwriting is his, however, when one carefully compares the document with his signature. Hull points out that the language of the petition is very crude English even for linguist Pastorius, and Holland takes preference over Germany in it.[4] Furthermore, a study of the signatures on the facsimile seems to reveal a difference between the signing of the first and the last three. Henderiks' signature bears some resemblance to the handwriting in the copy while the latter names seem to have been signed with a broader pen and blotted, thus suggesting Hull's opinion that Henderiks was the clerk of the meeting and the latter three men, the op den Graeff's and Pastorius, were members of the committee appointed by the Germantown meeting to present the petition at the Monthly Meeting. The text of the 1688 petition, with its quaint spelling, is best recorded by Hull (pp. 297-299) where it may be read. Other editions of the petition are found in Smith, Pennypacker, Learned, Keyser, and others.

A careful reading of the petition reveals five main arguments. (1) Slaves are brought here "against their will & consent, and that many of them are stollen." (2) Slaveholders cause slaves to commit adultery "separating wifes from their husbands, and giving them to others and some sell the children of those poor Creatures to other men." (3) Slavery "mackes an ill report in all those Countries of Europe, where they hear off, that ye Quakers doe here handel men, licke they handel there ye Gattel; and for that reason some have no mind or inclination to come hither, . . ." (4) "have these Negers not as much right to fight for their freedom, as you have to keep them slaves?" (5) If it is permissible to hold slaves,

"we disire & require you hereby lovingly, that you may informe us here in, . . . that Christians have such a liberty to do so."

One cannot escape the simple and solid reasoning of this document. It is not boisterous or blatant in its demands, but is genuine in the quiet earnestness of its pleadings such as touch the heart. Its words are concise, well chosen and few. In the scope of these few words, slavery is not only severely indicted on the five counts listed above, but lest these be interpreted only as economic arguments "weak in comparison to the religious objections to slavery" as Drake asserts, the entire petition is suffused with allusions to Christ's golden rule from Matthew 7:12, such as "There is a saying, that we shall doe to all men, licke as we will be done our selves," and again, "Is there any that would be done or handled at this manner?" and again, "How fearful & faintheart-ed are many on sea . . . (that) they should be tacken and sold for Slaves into Turckey. Now what is this better done as Turcks doe?" and again, "Oh! doe consider well this thinge, you who doe it, if you would be done at this manner?" or again, "Pray! What thing in the world can be done worse towards us then if men should robb or steal us away & sell us for slaves to strange countries."

How timeless and sweeping is this indictment of the sinful human heart, and, to realize, that these pervasive arguments were boldly directed to their own fellow-religionists, guilty before the bar of Christian truth! How all-embracing seems this protest against slavery compared to the more cautious suggestions of George Fox and William Edmundsen. We repeat, there can be no question that the Germantown Petition of 1688 was a *protest* against the slavery system, and that it was squarely directed toward those who held slaves. Though Fox first enunciated the evils of slavery and Edmundsen first raised the issue, should not this still rightfully be called the first *protest* against slavery in America?

That the petition was both unassailable in its arguments and yet foreign to the Quaker will of the day, may be seen in the "hands off" policy it met in the Quaker Meetings. The clerk of the Monthly Meeting at Dublin records in a minute at the bottom of the petition that the matter was considered but was found "so weighty that we think it not Expedient for us to meddle with it here, but do Rather commit it to ye consideration of ye Quarterly meeting; ye tennor of it being nearly related to ye truth." In a second minute at the bottom of the petition, the clerk of the Quarterly Meeting records that again it was considered "a thing of too great a weight for this meeting to determine" and off again it was sent by "Derick and the other two mentioned therein" to be placed before the Yearly Meeting. The minute of the Yearly Meeting was as follows:

> At a Yearly Meeting held at Burlington (New Jersey) the 5th day of the 7th month, 1688.
> A Paper being here presented by some German Friends Concerning the Lawfulness and Unlawfulness of buying and keeping Negroes. It was adjudged not to be so proper for this Meeting to give a Positive Judgment in the Case, it having so General a Relation to many other Parts, and therefore at Present they forbear It."[5]

Too many Friends owned slaves. Too many Friends in "other parts" (i.e. other colonies) lived off the labor of slaves. Following the ancient Quaker practice of arriving at decisions in Meeting on the basis of unanimity or near unanimity rather than majority vote, they justified their silence on these grounds. Thus the protest was too true to be refuted, yet too disturbing to the slaveholding Quaker economy to be accepted. The Quaker mind had not yet arrived at the keen conviction which troubled these Dutch settlers at Germantown with their Mennonite-like consciences.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Thomas E. Drake, *Quakers and Slavery in America,* New Haven, Yale University Press, 1950, p. 1.

[2]Volume XVII, p. 125. The text in full may be found in the following books: William I. Hull, *William Penn and the Dutch Quaker Migration to Pennsylvania,* Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, 1935, 297ff. C. Henry Smith, *The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania,* Norristown, Pennsylvania, 1929, 107ff., and others.

[3]*Op. cit.,* 294, 295.

[4]*Op. cit.,* 296.

[5]These minutes from the Monthly, Quarterly and Yearly Meetings are taken from Hull, *op. cit.,* 295, 296.

Text of Germantown Protest

This is to ye monthly meeting held at Richard Worrell's.

These are the reasons why we are against the traffik of men-body, as followeth. Is there any that would be done or handled at this manner? viz., to be sold or made a slave for all the time of his life? How fearful and fainthearted are many on sea, when they see a strange vessel —being afraid it should be a Turk, and they should be taken, and sold for slaves into Turkey. Now what is this better done, as Turks doe? Yea, rather is it worse for them which say they are Christians, for we hear that ye most part of such negers are brought hitherto against their will and consent, and that many of them are stolen. Now tho they are black we cannot conceive there is more liberty to have them slaves, as it is to have other white one. There is a saying that we shall doe to all men like as we will be done ourselves; making no difference of what generation, descent or colour they are. And those who steal or rob men, and those why buy or purchase them, are they not alike? Here is liberty of conscience, wch is right and reasonable; here ought to be likewise liberty of ye body, except of evil-doers, wch is an other case. But to bring men hither, or to rob and sell them against their will, we stand against. In Europe there are many oppressed for conscience sake; and here there

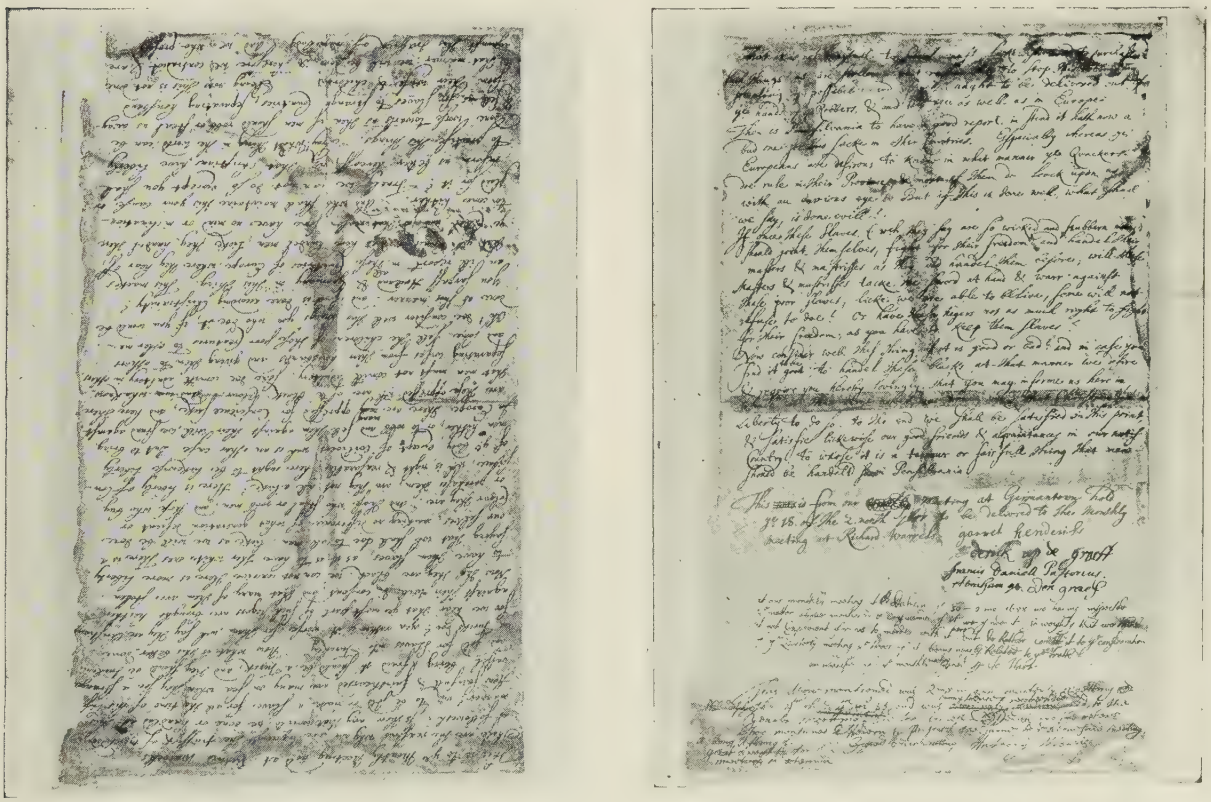
are those opprssd wh are of a black colour. And we who know that men must not commit adultery—some do commit adultery, in others, separating wives from their husbands and giving them to others; and some sell the children of these poor creatures to other men. Ah! doe consider well this thing, you who doe it, if you would be done at this manner? and if it is done according to Christianity? You surpass Holland and Germany in this thing. This makes an ill report in all those countries of Europe, where they hear off, that ye Quakers doe here handel men as they handle there ye cattle. And for that reason some have no mind or inclination to come hither. And who shall maintain this your cause, or pleid for it? Truly we can not do so, except you shall inform us better hereof, viz., that Christians have liberty to practice these things. Pray, what thing in the world can be done worse towards us, that if men should rob or steal us away, and sell us for slaves to strange countries; separating housbands from their wives and children. Being now this is not done in the manner we would be done at therefore we contradict and are against this traffic of men-

Table on which the first Protest Against Slavery was supposedly signed. This table is located in the Germantown Mennonite Church.

body. And we who profess that it is not lawful to steal, must, likewise, avoid to purchase such things as are stolen, but rather help to stop this robbing and stealing if possible. And such men ought to be delivered out of ye hand of ye robbers, and set free as well as in Europe.

(Continued on page 186)

This is a photographic reproduction of the original Protest Against Slavery. Above is the reprint of the Protest.



Then is Pennsylvania to have a good report, instead it hath now a bad one for this sake in other countries. Especially whereas ye Europeans are desirous to know in what manner ye Quakers doe rule in their province—and most of them doe look upon us with an envious eye. But if this is done well, what shall we say is done evil?

If once these slaves (wch they say are so wicked and stubborn men) should joint themselves,—fight for their freedom,—and handel their masters and mastrisses as they did did handel them before; will these masters and mastrisses take the sword at hand and warr against these poor slaves, licke, we are able to believe, some will not refuse to doe; or have these negers not as much right to fight for their freedom, as you have to keep them slaves?

Now consider well this thing, if it is good or bad? And in case you find it to be good to handel these blacks at that manner, we desire and require you hereby lovingly that you may inform us herein, which at this time never was done, viz., that Christians have such a liberty to do so. To the end we shall be satisfied in this point, and satisfie likewise our good friends and acquaintances in our natif country, to whose it is a terror, or fairful thing that men should be handed so in Pennsylvania.

This is from our meeting at Germantown, held ye 18 of the 2 month, 1688, to be delivered to the Monthly Meeting at Richard Worrell's.

Garret hendericks
derick up de graeff
Francis daniell Pastorius
Abraham up Den graef

THE RETURN HOME

(Continued from page 159)

She stops beneath the street light, resting while
She closes her eyes, and when I see her smile,
Her head drawn back, I do not understand—
The woman I remember as a child,
Knock-kneed and skinny, digging in the sand;
A little later, a let's pretend housewife,
Not knowing that her dolls would come to life.

A Window Seems a Little Thing

By MARGARET PITCAIRN STRACHAN

AMANDA HUNSICKER drew a deep breath of the hayfield's aroma as she waited by the fence for Samuel to cross the field from the wagon he was loading to take to the Haymarket in Philadelphia. The best prices were paid there during these years of the '80s, so Samuel always made the thirty-mile trip at this season.

"Amanda, are you all right?" Samuel called as his long, quick strides brought him near her.

"But of course! It isn't time for the baby yet. I wanted to talk. In the house we're never alone."

"How would you like a boughten bonnet from Strawbridge and Clothier's store?"

"I never had such a one!" Amanda's eyes shone, but only momentarily. Samuel was trying to buy her off. He knew she wanted something else — something that meant more to her than anything from a store.

Always it is the same, she thought. *Nothing can we have unless his mother wants it. And nothing can I do unless she gives me the dare!*

Shortly after her marriage to Samuel, Amanda spoke of moving the horsehair couch against the opposite wall. Lydia Hunsicker was horrified. The room was just as her husband had liked it during his lifetime.

In the spring Amanda said, "I think nasturtiums would be some nice on the front walk."

"Father Hunsicker always said nasturtiums were only good for planting in the vegetable patch to keep bugs out of the cucumber hills," Lydia said.

When Amanda became pregnant, Lydia quoted Father Hunsicker more than ever. She would not allow Samuel to drive her to Doylestown to be fitted for her first pair of shoes not made at home.

"Five miles to Doylestown!" Lydia shook her head. "Father Hunsicker never let me make the trip when I carried Samuel. I'll measure her foot and you take it in."

In January, Lydia declared the weather too cold to risk going to a quilting. Father Hunsicker always cautioned against being out in bad weather when she was in such a condition.

Most disappointing of all was the night Lydia forbade Amanda's attending Literary meeting. Samuel was one of the best debaters at the meetings in the schoolhouse and the night he declaimed on "Which is the greater, Anticipation or Realization?" Amanda was absent.

"Father Hunsicker said 'Rest you must have!' " Lydia explained, giving Amanda's shoulder a gentle pat. The girl shrank from her touch, but her mother-in-law smiled, unaware.

Amanda stared at Samuel now. If only she could make him understand! She loved him so and she could be so happy if only Lydia did not boss her such a much. Words tumbled almost hysterically from her lips.

"Samuel, I want a window in the kitchen facing the barn. I'd rather have it than any boughten bonnet. I want to be able to see when you leave off haying and start to do chores, yet. And see when you go from the barn to the milkhouse. In cold weather I could tell when to start supper and know just when you were coming."

"Now, Amanda, you know Mother wants things like Father made them, once."

"But Samuel, this is my home too, and I want something my way. Anything of my own I never had—with ten children at home I couldn't."

"Don't you want the bonnet? Such a blue one to match your eyes?"

Amanda's fingers tightened on the fencepost. It felt rough and splintery. This was like talking to old man Rosenberger, who was so deaf he used an ear trumpet. She couldn't get her idea across. Samuel leaned close and kissed her softly on the cheek. Amanda looked away, staring blindly at the hex symbols on the big, red barn.

"Maybe a pink one?" Samuel's voice questioned.

"No! I don't want a bonnet. I want a kitchen window!"

"Amanda, are you sure you're all right? You don't want I should go for the doctor before I leave?"

"Ach, Samuel, you're as bad as your mother. Every day it is, 'I-yi-yi-yi, be careful!' And now you talk of having a doctor when Lydia is set against it. She says, 'No man's as good at delivering a baby as a woman. How could he be? He's never had one.' You're willing to go against her to bring the doctor, but you won't do a little thing like cut me a window."

"A window makes no never-mind," Samuel said. "But having the doc for you is some different."

"Amanda, Amanda," Lydia's voice called. Amanda glanced back and saw her mother-in-law's tall, straight figure advance around the house.

"Coming," she called and turned abruptly from Samuel. Cows were swinging leisurely through the barnyard, some stopping at the watering trough. Amanda watched them, thinking how luckly farm creatures were. Fed and cared for they were content. *But I'm not a farm animal!*

In the kitchen Lydia was filling a tall, glass pitcher with foamy milk. Amanda silently hung up her shawl.

"We'll have left-over pot pie and bring the shoofly from the cellar," Lydia said.

I can't even plan a meal! She glared at the calendar hanging on the wall in the very spot where she wanted her window. It was useless to make her suggestion to Lydia.

When Samuel strode in, Amanda felt some of the tension lessen. But what would happen tomorrow when he was gone? The feeling that welled up within her was so close to hatred that it terrified her.

All during supper Amanda watched her husband. What was he thinking? Didn't he have any understanding how a woman felt about her home?

In most things, she thought, Samuel is smart. He'll get the best price for his hay and his load won't tip, spilling all over the road like some. He's kind to all his animals; he'll use five horses tomorrow instead of four. To me he is good, but he can't see why Lydia's ways in the house should bother me.

When the supper dishes were dried the three sat around the kitchen table. Samuel made his daily entry in his diary. The women worked at their knitting. The only sound was the scratch of Samuel's pen, the click of the needles and an occasional splutter from the coals in the stove.

"Time to go up," Lydia said. "Stay in bed tomorrow morning, Amanda. I'll fix Samuel's breakfast."

"Oh, no!" Amanda protested. She looked toward Samuel for help. He was putting away his diary and did not glance up.

"Such foolishness," Lydia said. "You need your rest. I'm used to getting up. It makes no matter to me." Lydia turned to light the lamps to carry upstairs.

Amanda hurried up the staircase. In their bedroom she undressed quickly. She could near Lydia moving about in her room. Samuel entered but Amanda did not dare speak for fear her mother-in-law would hear through the adjoining wall.

Samuel blew out the lamp and settled beside her. Immediately Amanda sat bolt upright in the dark.

"Samuel," she whispered, "I won't take orders any more. You say this is my home. Why can't I do as I want?"

"Whatever is the matter now?"

"Your mother! She acts like I'm a child with no sense!"

"Sh! Think of the baby. Don't talk so." Samuel tried to draw her down into his arms, but she jerked away.

"Don't start telling me that. Can't you see that is what your mother says to stop me doing things? I'm not excitable — she makes me so!"

"Ach, she tries to help."

"I don't need help. If I can't have my own house and kitchen and can't even have a window in hers, then I think at least I can get my husband's breakfast when he goes away once!"

"But I leave at three o'clock!"

"What does it matter? Samuel, if I don't get your meal it is the last time I take orders from your mother. You, I obey. But your mother, no."

"Orders I never give you, Amanda. You sleep now. Tomorrow you feel better."

Amanda dropped back on the bed. Not for anything would she have Lydia hear her cry. Suppose the baby came while Samuel was gone? Lydia would be pleased for then the doctor could not be brought. Amanda shivered and slid deeper beneath the covers.

Suddenly Amanda discovered Samuel was breathing evenly. He had gone to sleep! She buried her face in the pillow. But growing within her was determination she had lacked before. She would keep her word. Never again would she take orders from Lydia if her mother-in-law made his breakfast in the morning.

It seemed as though she had just closed her eyes when Amanda heard Samuel moving. She waited for him to speak, to say he would soon be leaving and did she want to come down. She heard him pull on his pants, then carrying his boots, he tiptoed clumsily from the room. Amanda yearned to tear the quilt to shreds. It was a handsome Rising Sun pattern Lydia made her for a wedding gift.

Lydia's brisk footsteps in the kitchen and the smell of frying ham and potatoes further infuriated her.

"I'll get a window cut in that kitchen yet!" she said aloud.

When the sound of the wagon came to Amanda she rushed to the window to see Samuel sitting very straight on the high seat. But it was still not quite dawn and she could not be sure whether he looked toward the house or not.

Now I am alone with her! Samuel will not return till tomorrow if his customer lives far out of town. He will sleep at the Germantown Tavern like the rest of the farmers. Suppose something should happen to him and he never did return?

But such a thought was foolish. What could happen? Of course, there were robbers who lay in wait for a farmer from Haymarket. Some hid their money in the wagon body, others in the top of the market wagon. If Samuel were paid entirely in silver dollars it would make a pile. If attacked by thieves he would put up a fight, but there might be too many for him.

A picture of Samuel lying dead in a tavern or beside his team on the road became vivid to Amanda. She could not stay quietly in their big feather bed. Slowly, with nervous fingers she dressed herself and made her way down to the kitchen.

"Ach, Amanda," Lydia greeted her, "I told you to lay abed."

"So," said Amanda, "I got up."

Lydia gave her a strange look and began to fix breakfast.

"I fix it myself," Amanda said, reaching for the white ironstone plate Lydia was about to fill with ham. Lydia did not reply and silence settled over the room.

The day was endless. During the hours Amanda sat knitting, her eyes lowered, she wondered if her mother-in-law had heard them the previous night. Time and again her eyes would shift to the wall where she wanted the window. How could she persuade Samuel to cut it?

Then she would ask herself how she could think of such a small thing as a window when her husband might be beaten to death that very night? She wished she could voice her fear to Lydia.

"Such foolishness," Lydia would say. "Father Hunsicker never let me think bad things when I carried Samuel. He said it would hurt the baby."

Amanda was convinced that in this Lydia and Father Hunsicker were right. She struggled to think of something else and once more the window came to her mind. She would make a curtain for it and put geraniums in it come winter.

I go crazy yet if I just sit! I know. Out by the woodshed, kindling I chop and Lydia will never know!

"I walk a bit," she said aloud and without waiting for Lydia to reply, hurried from the house. The day had been warm and although the sun was beginning to drop, it was no weather for wood-chopping. The very contrariness of the idea pleased her. She knew Lydia would be horrified at such goings-on. Every stroke of the ax was a pleasure.

"You might think I was chopping Lydia," Amanda said to herself. "How sinful I am yet! But I feel wonderful good."

Actually the time she spent chopping was but a few minutes. Then her back gave out and with immeasurable satisfaction Amanda put the ax away and went to the porch. When she heard Lydia moving about the kitchen preparing supper she entered. Her mother-in-law was paring potatoes for soup.

"Let me pare," Amanda said.

"I-yi-yi-yi, you knit," Lydia said.

"No! I pare!" Amanda held out her hand for the knife.

"Sit down. What is the matter with you? You are so nervous-like."

"Nothing is the matter. I pare potatoes once." She reached for the knife and took it from Lydia's square, stubby fingers.

Lydia shrugged and began to wash the parsley for the soup. When Amanda finished her task she resumed her place in the rocker, so weak she scarcely could stand. It was harder to disobey Lydia than to chop wood.

At supper the tension in the room mounted. Amanda tried to think of something they could talk about. They had liked each other once. She had thought Lydia the kindest women she ever met when first she had come here with Samuel. But that seemed years and years ago.

If only the neighbor who did Samuel's chores tonight would come in!

But no one came and it seemed to Amanda that every time she raised her eyes all she saw was the calendar on the wall where she wanted the window.

"Tired?" Lydia asked.

Amanda shook her head. She had a nagging back-ache, but it meant nothing. She stared fixedly into her bowl. The day was almost over. If she held her tongue perhaps they could get through without harsh words.

Suddenly Amanda shuddered. On a bit of parsley in her soup was a tiny, green worm.

"Did Father Hunsicker like worms in his soup?"

"Amanda! You're upset." Lydia reached for the bowl.

"Who upsets me, but you?" Amanda held on to the bowl firmly. "This is your home and you want it just as Father Hunsicker built it. But let me do as I think best from now on. Father Hunsicker never knew me and he can't tell me what I should do. He is gone."

The tick of the clock on the shelf grew louder and louder as the two women faced each other. A coal exploding in the stove sounded like a clap of thunder.

"I'll make you an emetic." Lydia rose quickly. "You're like to have the baby by morning this way."

"No," Amanda said. "Samuel won't be back and he's going to bring the doctor."

"Birth comes when it will."

For a minute Amanda thought to refuse the drink. She had not obeyed Lydia all day. But she did feel queer. Perhaps having her say had taken the strength from her. And far back in her mind was the thought of the kindling she had chopped.

Several hours later, waking from a troubled sleep, Amanda knew Lydia had been right. There would be no man around when she had her baby. A pain, so sharp that she bit her lower lip savagely, caught hold of her. Sweat broke out on her forehead and she clenched her fists.

Until she could stand the pains no longer alone, Amanda remained quiet. Then she called. Lydia was there instantly.

"You're shaking," she said. "Nervous chills. Come downstairs. If you walk a bit it'll hurry things."

In the kitchen Lydia took her arm and they walked back and forth. The minutes crawled by till Amanda was so tired she wanted to drop, but Lydia forced her on. Up and down. Up and down.

There was no silence now. Lydia talked continually. It was as though a frozen water pump had burst. And yet Amanda sensed Lydia talked mainly to distract her attention from her labor.

"Ach, it doesn't seem long since I had Samuel. We lived with Father Hunsicker's parents over Line Lexington way. They had a fine farm, but it wasn't home to me. I wanted my own."

"Can't you see how I feel then?"

Lydia patted her arm. "This place is yours and Samuel's. Father Hunsicker built it for me. We were happy. Samuel was our only child, but Father said, never mind, we will have a big family when Samuel marries. We will all be together with everything like we planned. But he is not here. You were right. He is gone."

Lydia's words became like distant sounds of horses' hoofs going down the road. Steady-trot. Steady-trot. First you hear each beat, then they fade into a reverberating hum.

"All the hard work my mother-in-law gave me. Women in her family never ate with their men, so I never could till we came here."

"Didn't Father Hunsicker say anything?"

"He didn't want to hurt her feelings, and it was her home."

"That's what Samuel said about you," Amanda whispered.

"We were there ten years. A long time. It was never home to me."

"What was Father Hunsicker like?" Even in her pain, Amanda was curious about the man who dominated this house despite his death.

"Just like Samuel," Lydia said. "A kind man. So easy to get along with. Samuel is his father over again."

I see. I see. Poor Lydia. Once she had Samuel and Father Hunsicker. Now she has neither. Soon I have the baby, too. No matter how much she tries to manage the baby, still never will it be truly hers.

"Ach, we go up now," Lydia said.

Twice on the steps Amanda stopped. Bed seemed miles away.

"Lydia, did you give me the emetic so I wouldn't have the doctor?"

"Father Hunsicker always gave me an emetic when I carried Samuel and saw anything unsightly."

Lydia can't be changed. But today I learned to be stubborn Dutch myself. Maybe I find a way to manage her yet.

" 'There's more than one way to skin a cat,' " she said as she sank on the bed. "If I could just think."

"What?" asked Lydia.

"Nothing."

An hour later Lydia showed Amanda the baby, putting the tiny bundle in place beside her. "I will think up a good name for her," she said.

"Already I've been thinking of names," Amanda said slowly. Father Hunsicker's name was Henry, not so? We'll call her Henrietta for him."

"I-yi-yi-yi, Henrietta Hunsicker," Lydia beamed. "He would like that such a much."

The room was quiet while both women watched the baby wave her arms in the air.

"So lively already," Amanda said. "She will grow fast. Do you think Father Hunsicker would like Henrietta to have a window in the kitchen so she could watch for Samuel to come from the barn?"

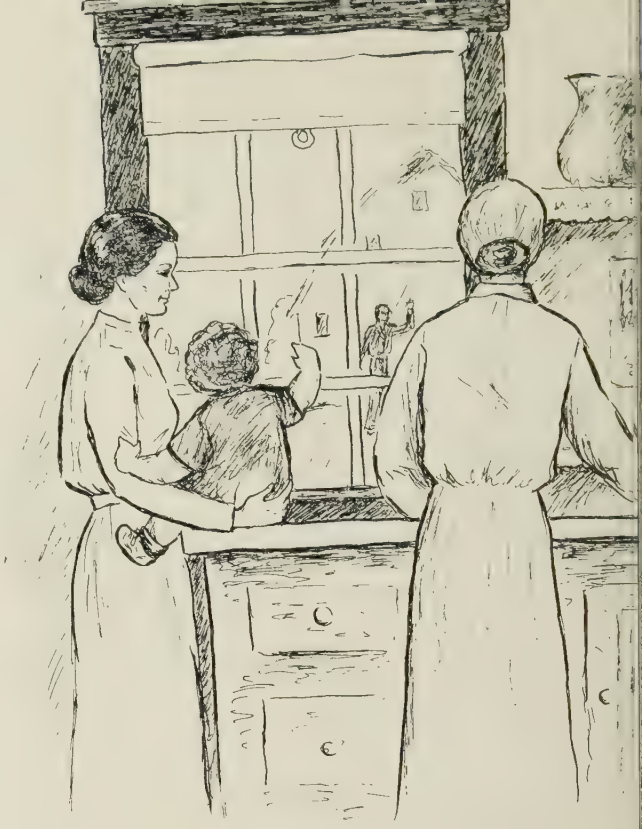
Lydia leaned over and touched the baby softly. Amanda could see her studying the idea.

"He might," she said at last. "I'll tell Samuel to make it. Did you know he's bringing you a bonnet?"

Amanda nodded and closed her eyes. *I feel as though I've made and just come home.*

Lydia was gone when she looked up again. Far down the road she could hear the trot of Samuel's horses. Samuel had not stopped to sleep at the tavern.

"I-yi-yi-yi, Henrietta," Amanda said. "Your father will be some surprised. Now we know how to do. Not so?"



A Dream Fulfilled

"Samuel, I want a window in the kitchen facing the barn. . . . I want to be able to see you when you leave off haying to start to do chores, yet. And see you when you go to the barn from the milkhouse. In cold weather I could tell when to start supper and know just when you were coming."

Drawing by Nancy Schroeder

Reverie for an Aunt

In Memoriam -- Janie Mast, 1886-1958

By ELAINE SOMMERS RICH

A shrill ringing of the telephone startled Ellen from new sleep. Her mother's voice across the hundreds of miles. "Sad news . . . your Aunt Janie . . . tonight at nine . . . We had no idea . . . She never complained."

Ellen heard herself saying, "Of course I'll be there for the funeral."

Aunt Janie dead! Just when the new house was completed. The compact little white house with flowers all around, built especially for Aunt Janie since Uncle Wiley's death such a short time ago. It seemed unreal.

But for Ellen, Aunt Janie's house would always be the big brown house at 1045 South Ohio, on the corner across from the coalyard and railroad. How grand it had always seemed to Ellen when she was a little girl. Two hallways! One upstairs; another down. And a magnificent bathtub, so different from the round tin one in which Ellen and her brothers and sister received their Saturday night scrubbings in the kitchen. In Aunt Janie's bathtub you stretched out your legs full length. You didn't cramp them up under your chin. For Aunt Janie and Uncle Wiley were "town folks."

Ellen smiled. Town folks? They never were. She remembered the grapevine, the cherry tree, always a strawberry patch and a potato patch, the luxuriant garden which Aunt Janie insisted grew because everything was planted in the proper sign. Aunt Janie talked to the birds, like Francis of Assisi, of whom she had probably never heard and would have dismissed quickly in conversation, for her world was an immediate one.

Each spring Aunt Janie said in Pennsylvania Dutch:

"Phoebe, Phoebe, tick, tick.
Why, Phoebe, bischt du zurick?"

(How did the rest of it go? Too late to ask her now.) Each spring she gathered dandelion and served it with a sour cream "degli." And each spring Ellen secretly suspected that the flower girl and all the rest of the "signs" had nothing at all to do with the way Aunt Janie's garden grew. Did not plants, like everything else, grow best on love?

Aunt Janie was more than passively interested in all her many relatives, to their annoyance sometimes, to be sure. But didn't she get Uncle Paul and Aunt Harriet together, and they had been married all these years? And weren't the relatives annoyed sometimes simply because she was so vocally right? Smoking was not a good thing,

really. And children should respect their parents. And "running around" was not the most profitable way to spend a Saturday night.

Aunt Janie's directives to Ellen were easy to smile away. "I don't think you should read so many big books. I'm afraid it's just too much for your little mind!" And the only question Aunt Janie ever asked Ellen about college was "What do they feed you up there?"

Any time Ellen came visiting, Aunt Janie fried chicken or baked ham, mashed potatoes, made salads and vegetables, ice cream and cake, opened a jar of homemade jam. What a table! Aunt Janie and good food went together. The girls may have groaned at the kitchenfull of dirty dishes, but they never had anything but appetites and compliments for the food. Would meals ever again be seasoned with so much love? Would Ellen ever again enter a house filled with so much pleasant disorder, so much hearty laughter and friendliness, so many plans for doing things with other people?

The names alone of Aunt Janie's friends would fill pages in that funeral remembrance book. "Janie never saw a stranger!" Uncle Wiley always said. Old Mrs. Walker who worked in a cardboard factory in Scotland (or was it Wales?) when she was a girl, before she came to America. Ray Metz, the groceryman. The cousins in Ohio. Her daughter Charlene's friends and neighbors in Fort Wayne. The various upstairs boarders. The church people. And more recently, Waupecong neighbors near the new little house.

Aunt Janie talked Pennsylvania Dutch to an Amishman and English to an executive. But it was always the same language, the language of genuine interest in other people.

Ellen heard the clock strike. Two hours since Mother's phone call. And still no tears for Aunt Janie. The tears would be for those she left behind. Aunt Janie was more alive than ever in God's great somewhere. Of that Ellen felt sure.

Books in Review

The Bridge Is Love, by Hans A. de Boer, Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1958. 256 pp., $4.50.
Unterwegs Notiert by Hans A. de Boer. Kassel: J. G. Oncken Verlag, 1956. 326 pp.

Here is Christian journalism of the highest order! For the author's refusal to sanction violence he marked time in prison, and after his release from a prisoner of war camp in 1947 he joined his father's mercantile firm. A purchasing mission to Africa in 1950 was the beginning of a series of travels which took him around the world through all the areas of tension and crises.

He is an alert observer, always probing beneath the surface of the unrest and discontent of the world's minorities and abused peoples. The misunderstood people of the world are allowed to speak their convictions as the author takes us through South Africa, India, China, Australia, Western Europe, and America. Extensive interviews with such leaders as Niemoeller and Nehru are given and before the book is laid aside the reader feels keenly the challenge to the professions of Christian institutions and nations.

For those who are interested in the ferment beneath the surface of world events and the wave of the future, this book is unexcelled. Mennonites, Brethren and Friends will appreciate Nehru's appraisal of their missionary program given in an interview.

The book is well illustrated (12 prints in photochrome and 50 black and white pictures taken by the author).

Bethel College — John F. Schmidt

Studies in Church Discipline, edited by Maynard Shelly. Mennonite Publication Office, Newton, Kansas, 1958, 241 pp. $2.00.

The purpose of this book, as conceived by the Discipline Study Committee of the General Conference Mennonite Church, is to "serve as a source book in a study of Christian Discipline." Accordingly the book is not meant to be the final answer and should therefore not be taken in that way. It is intended to provoke further discussion rather than close it.

Sixteen writers contribute the eighteen somewhat loosely related essays which comprise the book. The entire work is divided into two parts, the first one being the scriptural and historical background, and the second part concentrating on specific problem areas such as liquor, lodges, business ethics, and race relations.

It is gratifying to see that throughout the book there is a persistent effort to avoid the pitfalls of an arid legalism, or the perils of faulty human judgments of other people, or the dangers of conceiving of discipline as punishment and nothing more; although it must be added that the effort in that direction is not always successful! For in the course of the book, discipline is often used synonymously with punishment. By and large, a church that practices discipline is regarded as a church that has a way of punishing, or at least sharply reproving, an erring brother. It is unfortunate that not more attention was given to the positive aspect of church discipline. The first chapter rightly suggests that the answer to church discipline lies in "the spiritual discipline of the self." But that line was not sufficiently developed in the chapters which followed.

A general comment might be made as a word of caution, that in every effort to make the church "pure" we should not exclude or even repel the very ones who most need the church's help and its redemptive Gospel. If a church is more concerned in keeping its skirts clean than in rescuing the perishing, it will no more be a true church than a church that has watered down its ethical demand. Against this latter type of church these studies are a forthright protest.

Bethel College Church — Russell L. Mast

New Light on Martin Luther, With an Authentic Account of the Luther Film of 1953, by Albert Hyma, Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1958. 287 pp., $3.50.

The book is a critical study of the life and work of Martin Luther. It seeks particularly to examine the recent concepts about Luther, both popular and scholarly, and to subject them to the searchlight of the most recent research and study in the field of Luther studies. In a special way the author examines the historical reliability of the Luther Film of 1953. To carry out this criticism the author treats chronologically the various events in Luther's career: his experiences as a monk, the spiritual upheavals in his life, the break with the Roman Church, his conflicts with Erasmus, Zwingli, Henry VIII, and the peasants. He also looks closely at Luther's personal life in the home, his contribution to Christian education, and as a theologian. What is the author's appraisal of the Luther Film of 1953? He finds it much too eulogistic and often weak as an accurate historical presentation of Luther and the early stage of the Reformation in Germany. The author pleads for a more critical appraisal of the Reformation as a spiritual upsurge which has some historical continuity with the new life movements of the 14th and 15th centuries. The book is in many ways debunking, but the author is generous in his criticisms and thoroughly at home in the field. His sympathies are with the Reformed tradition.

Eastern Mennonite College — Irvin B. Horst

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